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The Beduin proletariat and the capitalist townsmen are mutually necessary to each other. The Beduins do all the carrying trade and supply the firewood and their other scanty products to the towns, and the merchants sell to the Beduins what they require of food, clothing, and other necessaries of life. The brokers of the Beduins to be found in all the towns supply the link between the two. They live on helping the Beduins to sell their produce to, and buy their requirements from, the merchants, and on helping the merchants to obtain the transport they need.

Housing.

342 Each town in the Hadhramaut has its own individual characteristics as regards housing. Although the houses of coastal towns are all of the familiar Arab type built of stone rubble and whitewashed, there is a wide difference in the aspect of the towns themselves. Mukalla, for example, is a miniature edition of Zanzibar—tall houses and narrow streets, sometimes not six feet across, while Shihr is a town of lower houses, wide streets, and open spaces. Away from the coast, mud is the almost universal building medium, and sun-dried mud bricks are used alike in building the palaces of the rich and the simple *dars* of the poor.

342 In the Wadi Du'an the tall mud-built houses climb up the banks of the wadi. They are close packed, but it is in their interiors that they merit attention. The colour scheme is black and white and rusty red. Although there is practically no whitewash on the outside of Du'an houses, the interiors of the better-class dwellings are spotlessly white. The ceilings of the rooms, which are lofty, are supported by carved pillars of '*elb*' wood, and all interior woodwork is of this material. The doors are set in wide heavily-carved frames and the whole ornamented extensively with iron nails, two inches across the heads, burnished with lead till they shine like polished dollars. It is a modern development in Du'an houses that every room in the house should be provided with its own ablution room, and as a consequence they are really self-contained flats. The entrance door gives on to a passage into the flat, and there is usually not a door into the main living-room but a Moorish arch either in the whitewashed wall or of stained '*elb* wood again studded with burnished nails. The ceiling is held up on rafters of '*elb* wood supported by the pillars previously referred to, the mud floor of the next storey above being laid over slats of date wood very attractively arranged in herring bone pattern.

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1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

bricks. The cost of building the house in which we stayed in Tarim was $60,000. The exterior of these houses is decorated with blue, green, yellow, and pink, which is not at all unattractive. Interiors are fitted with every up-to-date contrivance, electric light and fans, telephones, ice-plants, and European modern conveniences in the bathrooms, wash-basins with running water and shower-baths. Whereas in Du'an and Shibam there is scarcely a chair to be found, these houses are replete with European furniture, albeit some of a rather florid style. Large and comfortable chairs and sofas decorate the drawing-rooms, and there are English carpets, masses of gilt mirrors, chandeliers and glass cupboards full of marmalade dishes, egg-cups and so on. Living in such houses as these one is struck at every moment with the reflection that there is hardly a thing in the house that has not had to be transported on camel-back over the mountains for six days.

The principal structural detail that the wealthy Seiyids of Tarim and Seiyun have to contend with in their building operations is the difficulty of procuring long enough timber. The *'elb* or *sidr* tree grows to no great height, and although we found *'ariata* trees (*Conocarpus erectus*, Jacq.) growing to 50 feet or more in height some days' journey down the Wadi Maseila, they cannot be transported by camels. The difficulty is being surmounted to some extent by experiments in the making of reinforced concrete pillars of which I saw two in construction at Seiyun. All the work is done by local labour, the travelled Seiyids training their masons. The interior walls of these houses, apart from elaborate decorations such as gold crowns and coloured flowers, are covered with a lime plaster polished with smooth pieces of flint till it resembles marble.

Shibam is remarkable for the height of its houses. The town, which is in the shape of a capital D, contains in a small area 500 houses built on a slight eminence in the Wadi. From a short distance the whole town appears to be one enormous brown mud built construction with a whitewashed top storey and roof. There is no further building room in the town and the only way to have a new house is to buy an old one, knock it down, and rebuild. By general consent, houses in Shibam are not now to be built more than six storeys high in order to avoid overlooking. The only important existing exception to this rule is the Government palace, which is a storey or two higher, but which is in such a position that it overlooks very little. On the top of the six storeys the builder may however erect a roofless seventh which gives him a walled-in roof terrace. The building of this type of house which, when completed, will be 64 *dhirras* or 96 feet high, will cost more than 20,000 dollars. Bigger houses are constructed of two or more houses built together. The life of a house is said to be 200 to 250 years, but the age it reaches depends on the privies being kept dry and cleaned out regularly. If this is not done, the damp saps the lower part of the clay walls and causes splits, necessitating demolition.

361 Outside the walls of Shibam in the rich man's suburb of Seheil
342 there are villas, some of them built in East Indian style but none
177 of them as big as those in the city. Several houses in these Hadhramaut towns are provided with most attractive and welcome swimming pools in which the water is usually kept running by means of small petrol engines.

342 The general principles of house construction seem to be pretty much the same all over the upper Hadhramaut, but it is really only in the main Wadi that elaborate structures are found. Apart from the *dars* in which many of the tribesmen live, and which leave much to be desired from the standpoint of hygiene, it may be interesting to record that in one Wadi through which we travelled, to the north of the main Wadi towards the desert, I found troglodyte Beduins living in caves in the walls of the Wadi. The front of these caves was usually built up with dry stone walling, leaving only a small gap for the entrance of man and beast. Down the Wadi Maseila between Qabr Hud and the sea the Manahil and the Mahra live in huts built of sticks not more than five feet high. In two villages on the Mahra coast many of the inhabitants lived in tents of matting.

Wages and Cost of Living in the Towns.

000 The manner of living adopted by the wealthy of the Hadhramaut and by the tribesmen is sufficiently indicated in other parts of this report. The following notes give an indication of the condition of the wage-earning classes in the towns.

511 For labourers the cost of living is said to be cheaper in Mukalla
435 than in Aden. Firewood and water are free, and there is nothing to pay in the way of ground rent. Rents are very low; as an example, a large building of five storeys costing Rs.15,000 to build would not fetch Rs.20 a month in rent. There is no tax
651 on property. The people in the towns pay their tithes straight to
735 the poor and not to Government.

465 Masons and carpenters receive a rupee and a-half a day, and
435 their assistants nine to ten annas. Labourers generally receive from nine to twelve annas a day. Coolies on ships are paid twelve annas and food. In Mukalla, porters receive from one pice to two annas a load according to distance. From the Customs to the western gate of the town (just over a mile) is two annas, but most carries are those earning two or three pice. The price paid for carrying water to houses from the public fountains attached to the town water-supply of Mukalla is two pice a tin and three pice for two tins.

In Kanina, Hajr province, masons receive a rupee a day, and their assistants five annas. Carpenters are paid by piece work. Three pice is paid for carrying one load of water on donkey back from below the town. Field labourers are paid five dollars and food a month or by piece work.

631 The Kathīri claims the Hamumi, Nahd, 'Awābitha and Sei'ar tribes as his allies. The agreement with the Nahd, which is said to be similar to those with the Hamumi, 'Awābitha and Sei'ar, is included in an appendix. It is stated that these tribes would join the Kathīris if there was trouble with the Qu'aitis.

Kathīri Towns.

101 The country ruled by the Kathīris was formerly of vast extent and stretched from the 'Aulaqi country on the west to the Mahri on the east, including the country of Dhufar beyond. The history of the circumscription of the territory to its present limits appears sufficiently in an earlier chapter of this report.

631 Of the six towns or villages mentioned as being included in the
632 Kathīri dominions Seiyun and Tarim are the largest. Seiyun, the
361 capital of the Āl 'Abdulla Sultans, is a walled town of over 1,500 houses and about 50 mosques. The suburbs, which are all to the east of the town, are extending fairly rapidly with the building of pleasant looking residencies, most of them with their own gardens. The population is said to be about 20,000. Tarim is also a growing town with an estimated population of 15,000. Its walls, which are over five miles in length and are furnished with five gates and 25 forts, enclose a great deal of open space so that most of the better class houses have their own gardens. There are over 2,000 houses, and there are said to be 300 mosques, one of which, built by the Al Kafs, has the highest minaret in the Hadhramaut and is of an unusual pattern. The principal shrine in Tarim is that of Maqaddam Faqih. There are growing suburbs outside the walls such as 'Aidīd, but some of the suburbs such as Thibi, Dammūn, and Beit Jabīr, belong to the Tamimis and are under Qu'aiti influence. Tarim and Seiyun are striking for their many
342 palaces, equipped in modern style, to which reference has already
365 been made. These houses have a water supply laid on and pumped
312 up by small petrol engines. The towns are well supplied with wells, and Tarim is remarkable for being the only town in the Hadhramaut with public conveniences, which, however, are rough mud erections and very insanitary.

361 Taris is a village lying to the west of Seiyun, and its inhabitants
521 do not exceed 700. Mariama is a small village to the east of Seiyun with a population of about 300. Al Ghurf, also a small village, lies to the north of Tarim and has a population not exceeding 250. Gheil bin Yomein is said to be a popular place of resort during the autumn. It is a small village of which the majority of the inhabitants are Beduins.

565 A great deal of wealth comes into the Kathīri towns from the East Indies, and the towns of Tarim and Seiyun, which are considered centres of culture and learning, include many wealthy inhabitants whose fortunes have been made in the East Indies.

000 The whole of the Kathīri part of the wadi is accessible by motor

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Later stage in house-building, Do'an

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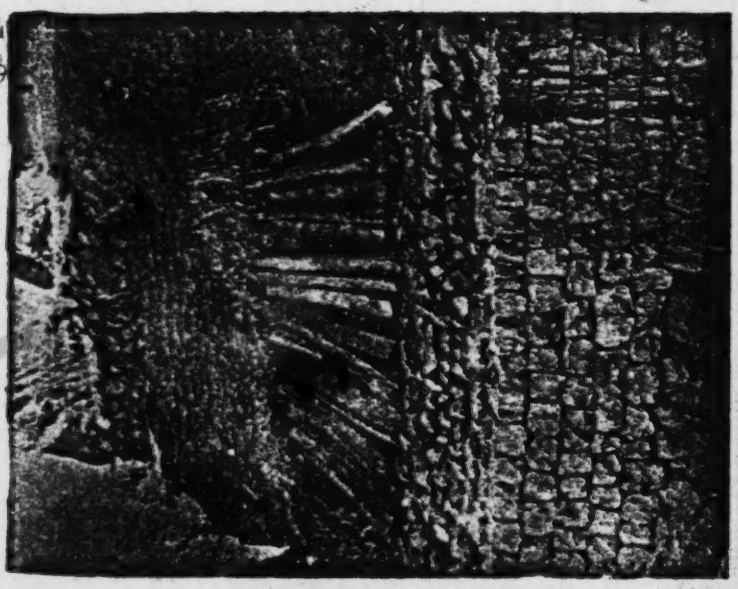

Foundations of a house in Do'an, showing blood of the sacrifice

Facing p. 370

4: Ingrams G-3 (no date) 1935 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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HOUSE BUILDING IN THE HADHRAMAUT

W. H. INGRAMS

DURING a recent tour in the Hadhramaut my wife and I collected some notes on the building of houses. Each town in the country has its own individual characteristics. Although the houses of coastal towns are all of the familiar Arab type, built of stone rubble and whitewashed, there is a wide difference in the aspect of the towns themselves. Makalla, for example, is a miniature edition of Zanzibar—tall houses and narrow streets, sometimes not 6 feet across, while Shihr is a town of lower houses, wide streets, and open spaces.

In the Wadi Do'an the tall mud-built houses climb up the banks of the wadi. They are close packed, but it is in their interiors that they merit attention. The colour scheme is black and white and rusty red. Although there is practically no whitewash on the outside of Do'an houses the interiors of the better-class dwellings are spotlessly white. The ceilings of the rooms, which are lofty, are supported by carved pillars of *'elb* [1] wood, and all interior woodwork is of this material. The doors are set in wide heavily carved frames and the whole ornamented extensively with iron nails, 2 inches across the heads, burnished with lead, which shine like polished dollars. It is a modern development of Do'an houses that every room in the house should be provided with its own ablution room, and as a consequence they are really self-contained flats. The entrance door gives on to a passage into the flat, and there is usually not a door into the main living room but a Moorish arch either in the whitewashed wall or of stained *'elb* wood again studded with burnished nails. The ceiling is held up on rafters of *'elb* wood supported by the pillars previously referred to, the mud floor of the next storey above being laid over slats of date wood very attractively arranged in herring-bone pattern.

In Terim the principal feature is the large number of enormous dwelling-houses in a style copied from Malaya but built of mud bricks. The exterior of these houses is decorated with blue, green, yellow, and pink, which is not at all unattractive. Interiors are fitted with every up-to-date contrivance, electric light and fans, telephones, ice plants, and modern European conveniences in the bathrooms. Whereas in Do'an and Shibam there is scarcely a chair to be found these houses are replete with European furniture, albeit some of a rather florid style. Living in such houses as these one is struck at every moment with the reflection that there is hardly a thing in the house that has not had to be transported on camel back over the mountains for six days, and while I mention this it is worth recording that there are sixty cars in Terim itself, each of which has been transported in parts by twelve camels from the coast.

The principal structural detail that the wealthy Seyyids of Terim and Seyyun have to contend with in their building operations is the difficulty of getting long enough timber. The *'elb* or *sidr* tree trows to no great height, and although we found *'ariata* trees growing to 50 feet or more in height some days' journey down the Wadi Maseilah, they cannot be transported by

[1] The commoner Arabic name is *sidr*, *Rhamnus nabeca*.

313 camels. The difficulty is being got over to some extent by experiments in
333 making reinforced-concrete pillars, of which we saw two in construction at
353 Seyyun. All the work is done by local labour, the travelled Seyyids training their masons. The interior walls of these houses, apart from elaborate decorations such as gold crowns and coloured flowers, consist of a lime plaster polished by smooth pieces of flint till it resembles marble.

361 Shibam is remarkable for the height of its houses. The town, which is in
342 the shape of a capital D, contains in a small area five hundred houses built on
485 a slight eminence in the wadi. From a short distance the whole town appears
625 to be one enormous brown mud-built construction with a whitewashed top storey and roof. There is no further building room in the town, and the only way to have a new house is to buy an old one, knock it down, and rebuild.

344 The area of land required to build a house 45 *dhirras* in width by 35 in depth (a *dhirra*, or cubit, equals 1·5 foot) will cost 10,000 dollars, and having acquired the land the prospective builder will have to submit the specifications of his house for the approval of a committee of the townspeople who consider the position of windows and of gutters carrying water to the street. Subsequent alterations to a house must also be similarly approved. By general consent houses in Shibam are not now to be built more than six storeys high, in order to avoid overlooking. The only important existing exception to this rule is the Government palace, which is a storey or two higher but which is in such a position that it overlooks very little. On the top of the six storeys the builder may however erect a roofless seventh which gives him a walled-in roof terrace. The building of this house, which, when completed, will be 64 *dhirras* or 96 feet high, will cost more than 20,000 dollars.

333 The foundations are dug 2 *dhirras* deep below the surface of the earth and
342 3 *dhirras* wide. Stones are used for the foundation mortared together with a mixture of wood ash and lime. In places where there is any doubt as to the solidity of the ground on which the house is to stand long pieces of *'elb* wood are laid in pairs lengthwise in the foundations. Wood for this purpose must be cut in the winter; if this is done it is said never to rot. The stone foundation or *sās* is continued for 2 *dhirras* above the level of the ground. When the building operations have reached this stage a foundation sacrifice of a goat or sheep is made on the walls. The house is centred round a solid pillar built on the same foundation as the walls. For a house of the dimensions proposed this pillar or *'arus el beit* will be $3^1/_2$ by 3 *dhirras* wide and of the same thickness from top to bottom. The stairs of the house invariably go up round the *'arus*. The bricks are made of clay mixed with straw, the standard size being $1^1/_4$ *dhirras* in length by $^2/_3$ in breadth by 4 *banan* or fingers' widths in thickness. When the clay of the required consistency and thickness for making the bricks has been laid out they are cut out by a wooden frame which makes two bricks
[435] at a time. The bricks cost five dollars a thousand.

The thickness of the walls of the first storey is $1^7/_8$ *dhirras*, of the second $1^1/_2$, of the third $1^1/_4$, of the fourth 1 *dhirra*, of the fifth $^3/_4$, of the sixth $^5/_8$, and of the seventh $^1/_2$ a *dhirra*. The bricks are mortared together with wet clay. As *'elb* wood grows to no great length the size of the room is determined to some
[435] extent by the length of the pieces available as girders. The girders are usually very short and supported by carved pillars each costing about twenty dollars.

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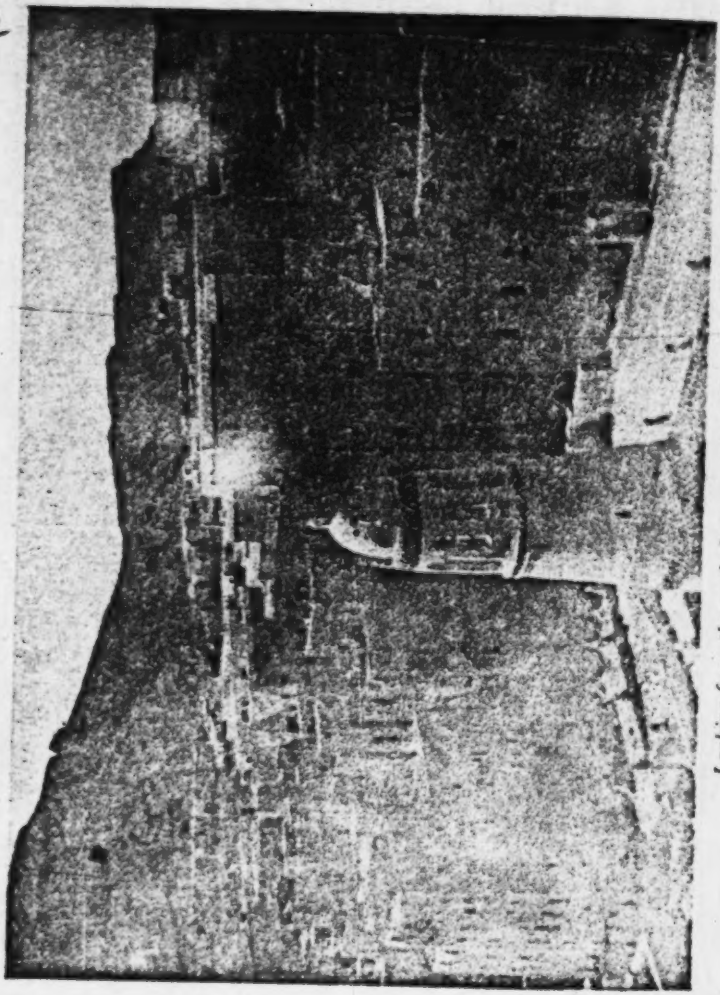

Looking from the roof of a seven-storey house in Shibam

Facing P. 371

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The ground floor of the house is usually the highest and the others are all about the same. Some of the houses in Shibam are built on the slope of the hill and are therefore provided with cellars. The height of the wall facing the outside of the city in these circumstances is about 70 *dhirras* or 105 feet high. Bigger houses are constructed of two or more houses built together.

The life of a house is said to be two hundred to two hundred and fifty years, but the age it reaches depends on the privies being kept dry and cleaned out regularly. If this is not done the damp saps the lower part of the clay walls and causes splits necessitating demolition. Outside the walls of Shibam in the rich man's suburb of Seheil there are villas, some of them built in East Indian style but none of them as big as those in the city. Several houses in these Hadhramaut towns are provided with most attractive and welcome swimming pools in which the water is usually kept running by means of small petrol engines.

[402]

The general principles of house construction seem to be pretty much the same all over the upper Hadhramaut, but it is really only in the main wadi that elaborate structures are found. Apart from the *dars* in which many of the tribesmen live, it may be interesting to record that in one wadi through which we travelled to the north of the main wadi towards the desert we found troglodyte Badawin living in caves in the walls of the wadi. The front of these caves was usually built up with dry stone walling, leaving only a small gap for the entrance of man and beast. Down the Wadi Maseilah between Qabr Hud and the sea the Manahil and the Mahra live in huts built of sticks not more than 5 feet high. In two villages on the Mahra coast many of the inhabitants lived in tents.

7: Sturler-Rasmussen T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

121 what people want to hear. In this short talk I would like to deal more with the feeling of these buildings as related to the people who live in them and who have created them. If time allows I hope to show a short colour film I made there and which portrays general scenes of life in Hadhramaut.

122 There is one thing I can say without any hesitation or doubt, and that is to give expression to my great gratitude to those who helped me to go on these journeys. I could not possibly mention by name all those to whom I am indebted, but at least I wish to speak of Sir Bernard Reilly of the Colonial Office, who made it possible for me to go to Hadhramaut and gave me the necessary introductions. I also want to thank Dr. Serjeant of the School of Oriental and African Studies of London University, who taught me for two years and who showed me everything I had to know in order to travel in that strange and isolated country he had himself visited. Finally, I am most grateful to Colonel Hugh Boustead, Resident Adviser of the East Aden Protectorate, who facilitated my journey in every possible way. He was my kind host and gave me travel facilities and permits to go where many people had difficulty in going.

131 To plunge into my subject, I might say that one does in fact almost plunge into the Hadhramaut from above. It is one of those rare countries which cannot be reached by rail or by road and hardly by sea except on a little native dhow; so that since the British Protectorate authorities started to develop the country it has been habitual to go to Hadhramaut by plane, and one does indeed drop into it from the sky. Such isolation is rare in our times and needs some explanation for those not familiar with the geography of Southern Arabia.

131 Arabia has always been one of the most difficult countries of access to
133 Europeans, for geographical as well as religious reasons. In the centre of the peninsula is one of the largest deserts in the world, and it is surrounded by forbidding coastal ranges from halfway up the Red Sea coast, down to the "barren rocks of Aden" and eastward along the southern coast, almost three-quarters of its length before there is any break in the mountains.

But for small valleys, these mountains and the interior are absolutely barren. With the exception of the Yemen, to all intents and purposes, little or nothing grows in that vast area. There is no water. There is little earth, and in the relentless mountain ranges and plateaux along the coast there is often not even sand—just rock and flint and granite. Yet these coastal ranges are crossed in all directions by ageless tracks made by camel trains of the bedouin traders who have followed them for two thousand, perhaps three thousand years, bringing the incense from Dhufar beyond Hadhramaut.

101 The people who now live in the interior highlands are the bedouin,
[342] the descendants of the traders of old, who dwell in small stone-built villages or mud castles. This south-western corner is still largely a tribal area where there are different little bedouin sultanates. Some of them are being gradually brought into the confederation and some even accept complete British protection; others live entirely in their own ancient way of
000 life of blood feuds and strife. Some miles out of Aden a sultan recently

7: Stuhler-Raemaekers T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

133 a second miracle happens. There is a cleft in the great basalt plateau and
311 a beautiful green valley opens abruptly in the flat tableland—a valley running from east to west, joining the sea some 150 miles further on. This is a fertile valley with gardens and palm groves, millet fields and white palaces. An underground river continually provides water for the wells and the little irrigation channels. There are crops up to three times per year. In this lovely setting very civilized and well-dressed townsfolk live in large mud-built towns on the valley cliff sides. Recently they have laid aside their arms and ceased their blood feuds and tribal wars which raged from town to town, from tribe to tribe, from family to family. With the aid of the British adviser they have established law and order and made their foreign trade, which is their livelihood, flourish unhindered.

172 When we go back into history to find out where this miracle has sprung
341 from, we discover that there were the old Sabean and Hymyaritic civilizations of 1,000 or 2,000 years B.C., of which Mr. Ingrams spoke. Perhaps it started with the Minean Empire, on the eastern border of Yemen, and its capital, Ma'in. Later came the Sabeans with their capital a little south, at Marib; followed by the Katabaneans, whose centre, Timna, was at the south-eastern corner of the great desert. And lastly, perhaps, the Hadhramis, whose early capital may have been the much disputed Shabwa. These people built in stone, and their buildings were several storeys high and of very fine dry masonry. Many are the ruins covering the western territory between Aden and Hadhramaut and to the north in Yemen. But also in Hadhramaut itself, further east, there are vestiges of towns and temples, in the main valley and the side valleys; great plans of garrison cities, and remains of castle and palace walls in beautifully executed stonework, all erected perhaps some 2,000 years ago.

341 With such a tradition it is not surprising that something is still found
333 in the present day, and although the Hadhramis have not continued the stone masonry and have turned mainly to sun-dried mud bricks, their achievements are of remarkable interest.

101 Reviewing the various groups of the population, there are the bedouin
342 who still live by camel transport, the sand bedouin of the desert who live in simple black camelhair tents, and the bedouin mountain tribesmen who live on the arid plateaux. The latter are rugged and tough, like the country round them. Their life is hard; it is scorching hot without any shade in the day, bitterly cold at night at 6,000 feet. They still build their low windowless huts with brushwood roofs with the stones of the plateaux in dry walling. They carry on in their primitive way the stone tradition which has been lost elsewhere in the eastern area.

361 The next class of inhabitants we meet are the remote valley bedouin,
311 who live in rather better circumstances. They do have a little grazing,
342 cultivate a little land where they grow millet called dharrah and a sort of little cucumber-tomato called faguws. They live in the earthen beds of long-dried-up rivers that have a flood from the hills about once a year. They have grown lazy like everyone else, and they build their little castles
342 of mud bricks with a base of rough stones from the river-bed. A passage down the centre leads from the entrance door with almost windowless rooms for storage either side to a stair leading to a sheltered roof terrace.

7: Stirler-Raemaekers T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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It is the same type of building that has been carried to perfection in the towns. This brings us to the chief group of interest—the townsfolk.

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The ancient cities usually lay on some small eminence in the centre of the main valley or up a side valley. They had defence walls round them and were probably manned by very well-organized garrisons. When the "middle ages" or "dark ages" of Arabia came upon this area with the decline of the land trade routes in the second century, these cities seem to have been abandoned as the empires broke up. The people who remained after this decline seem to have taken to living in eagles' nests and cliff-side towns built on the steep slopes of the valleys. They may be the forefathers of the town dwellers found today in the main valley of Hadhramaut and its tributaries of Wadi Do'an, Wadi bin Ali, and Wadi 'Idm.

311 312 511 262 439 291

People of the side valleys remained much closer to bedouin tradition than in the main valley, as in lovely Do'an, for instance—the narrow, riverless valley, its bed entirely covered with thick palm groves which are irrigated with water collected in pools and tanks from the yearly rains. They live simply, drinking the old bedouin drink of husk coffee with ginger and eating the plain millet cakes with a few dried herbs and vegetables (instead of tea and imported rice as is now done in the large towns). There are no natural resources here. Food, except dates and honey, is scarce. To earn a living the Do'anîs go and trade abroad, mainly in East Africa. The women of the valley retain their picturesque costumes with heavy jewellery reminiscent of the bedouin silver. Their dresses are mostly of homespun black cotton (as also the men's coloured loin cloths), but for "best" they wear silver embroidered black velvet with gold and silver braid bodices.

342 361 531

Their cliff towns are a fair size and an amazing heaping-up of one building above the other. They are solid and well built of several storeys, on a long narrow plan parallel to the hillside in order not to dig too far into the mountain. Massive walls have small windows and corbelled cornices not found elsewhere in this area; they have a Gothic decorativeness that is pure instinct and a lovely rough, crumbling mud surface that fades into the mountainside because they are made of the same material as the mountain itself. Usually the houses are laid out in small apartments, a room with a lobby and a washroom to each; sometimes one, sometimes two to each floor. Both buildings and streets are narrow for lack of space.

361 342

But when we come to the great Wadi Hadhramaut the streets are wide and the buildings are much larger and more sophisticated. This Wadi has its underground river and innumerable wells. Luxury abounds. The people from the great valley towns—Shibam, Saiywun, Terim—made their fortunes in Singapore and Java, and here one comes to the most impressive buildings of Hadhramaut.

[941]

The great desert town of Shibam with its 500 houses is a town of merchants only. Contrary to all other towns its site is on an eminence in the centre of the valley, and I wonder whether it may not be an old Sabean site. The buildings on the outer rim of the town form a solid wall, five to six storeys high, and these are the houses of the great, where they get a maximum of air, light and view. Six storeys is the agreed maximum, so that no one shall overlook his neighbour. Only the ruler's castle, on

T: Stanley-Baeumahern T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MMI Hadhramaut MM

361 342 a mound, is seven storeys and rises above the rest, the whole, like all others, built in mud bricks.

In the centre, the space that is left, lie huddled the one-storeyed shops of the suq and the many-storeyed flat houses of the poor. Shibam seemed the only town where houses were occupied in flats. Elsewhere I saw almost exclusively one-family houses even if the family had many groups within it.

342 333 All houses in Hadhramaut have a strong inward slant from bottom to top, which gives them a look of strength mingled with grace. There are no basements and barely foundations, but the ground floor is an almost solid base, so thick are the walls that taper towards the top. They may be almost 3 feet thick at the base for a tall castle, and a foot at the top.

In Shibam, the houses forming a solid rampart wall have windows at the two ends only, and a small light-well to light the stairs in the centre of the deep building. The ground floor usually contains granaries and stores. The straight flights of the stairs rise between thick walls with a very heavy 342 central block. On the first floor the Shibam citizen keeps his goats and 231 rabbits in the outside rooms, while the centre is occupied by more stores. About the second floor begin the living quarters—that is, the office and rooms of the men, stores in the centre again, and often with kitchen, 342 washroom, and lavatory. These washrooms and lavatories are systematically built over a central shaft, though water is mostly allowed to run from 336 a gutter into the centre of the street. But there are "back" streets for the sanitation and "front" streets for doors. About the third floor the private 342 quarters begin. They would be men's living quarters, with the ladies on the floor above, the fourth, with kitchen and washrooms again; right on top, often little private quarters for the owner of the house where he may enjoy most fresh air. Each floor has a double set of windows, a large one down to the floor and a small square one for ventilation above, up against the ceiling, so that there are continual draughts running through the top of the room. Practically all rooms have windows on two sides, and with this and the thick walls and the smooth plaster they remain pleasantly cool.

342 The lower floors are usually the loftiest; even the ground floor store 353 rooms are up to 12 and 13 feet high. The house often has two entrances— a large door for the men and a little one for the ladies, with separate stairs 531 in the larger houses, even in Shibam where land is scarce. The façades are in rough mud brick, a uniform brown colour with a white plaster smooth base and white ornaments round windows and parapet, getting richer towards the top of the house, which is the best part of it.

Their plasterwork is one of their great arts. It is extraordinarily hard. To obtain this it is presumed to be mixed with date juice. When polished with a piece of flint and rubbed with a cloth for hours it acquires a lustre that makes it shine like marble. This is chiefly done inside the main rooms and in the washrooms and stairs. Outside it is only polished at the base, for water to run off. The ornamentation of the upper storeys is left 342 rough white. But as people's wealth increased they have abandoned this 531 form of very characteristic decoration, which divided the tall buildings in broad brown bands alternating with narrow white bands at window level.

7: Stuzler-Raemaekers T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

Now they cover the building in white plaster all over, and the charming ornamentation in darts and trefoils is lost.

The oldest building in Shibam, the castle, which may be anything from 80 to 150 years old, still shows this decoration in horizontal bands of white round the windows. It seems an old bedouin tradition, for I have found it in remote bedouin villages. So all these old, charming and vigorous forms—dart motifs, broad bands, crenellated terraces, carved and nail-studded doors and graceful mucharabias for the ladies to look down into the street from the high terraces—are being abandoned. The present-day Hadhrami thinks them old-fashioned and copies the Indian and pseudo-Classic styles he has seen in Java and Singapore. Niches are filled in; and instead of the flat, low relief white ornaments (all shapes receding because the mud crumbles and the yearly rainfalls wash them away) we now find entablatures, pediments, balusters and pilasters, designed for much more lasting materials, like stone, and which here soon become shabby.

Shibam, the old-fashioned, has only just begun to suffer from this. Going, also, is one of the amenities of the Arab house: the coffee corner. In almost every room and terrace there was a little dais in a cool and shaded corner by a window where the master or mistress sat to make coffee for the guests. In the walls behind the dais there were niches specially shaped to take the pestle and mortar, the charcoal tin, the cups, and a small cupboard to lock away the precious ingredients—coffee, ginger and sugar. On the window-sill there was often a tall jar for the water and a runnel for waste water to flow away. Instead of these we now find the tea ceremony round the samovar in the middle of the floor, the little dais being broken away.

But we now move to the most fashionable of the Hadhramaut towns—to Saiywun and Terim and the many surrounding small towns. Here one finds a different type of people. There are many merchants too, but here we find another leading class, also great landowners in Java and Singapore. These are Sayyids, members of the eighty holy families, descendants of Mohammed, who live in these towns beside the lower classes. They have been the spiritual and temporal lords of the country for centuries. They have authority in matters of justice and civil affairs, and they are believed to have healing gifts. Until recently they were the undisputed rulers of the country. Now their power wanes before more democratic forms.

These people live in shining white palaces in the manner of *grands seigneurs*. They wear long white silk coats or the Indian silk longie and pastel-shaded shirts. The ladies, up till recently, wore heavy satin embroidered and sequin-covered kimono-like gowns, bunched into a low silver belt round the hips. Now these are forbidden as they cannot be washed. They wear their hair in hundreds of fine plaits. Up to the age of eight little girls may show face and hair, then they cover hair and neck with a close-fitting shawl and at twelve they go into purdah completely.

Their houses are built in a solid square block without inner courtyard and with windows on all four sides. Even the old streets are fairly wide in these towns that lie in the foothills. The more modern houses are surrounded by a walled garden. They are completely divided into two, one

7: Sturler-Raemaekers T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

565 342 half for the men and one for the women, each with their entrance, kitchen, store rooms and granary on the ground floor, reception rooms and wash-rooms on the first floor, and more private apartments with washrooms on the second floor. There may be a third floor with terrace rooms, but usually not more.

342 353 565 Although the span of the ceiling beams is quite small, as everywhere else (about six feet, determined by the maximum size of timber available), many of the rooms in these houses are very large, being divided up by two, four, six or nine pillars. They have rows of three or four windows, some even more, on two sides. The floors are covered with carpets, and cushions against the walls are the only form of furnishing. There will be niches with cups, silver samovars and brass trays; other niches with some books; and a few large flat basket-trays hung on the walls, from which one eats. But that is absolutely all that is needed. There are large wall closets for clothing and for bedding, the normal place to sleep being the floor. But there is no difference between a living-room and a sleeping apartment. Each room serves for either purpose in turn, the men and the women being separate. Nor are there clothes for the night and clothes for the day, though the men wear beautifully laundered clothes, frequently changed.

[291 515]

342 515 Washrooms consist of a spacious compartment, with glazed plaster walls with niches and pegs for clothing. Near the window stands a tall jar with water and a scoop for showering oneself. The water runs out under the window through a runnel and gutter. Some washrooms have a shower tank. The washroom may contain a lavatory of the south continental, foot-rest type, or this may be in an entirely separate spacious compartment. Each floor has at least two. Besides this the Saywun and Terim house has a little " roman " bath for complete ablution about 10 feet square, and which is usually near the private prayer-room.

342 271 Another pleasant characteristic of the Saywun house is that in the large corridor that runs from one side of the house to the other; in front of the window at the coolest end there is usually a corner for drinking-water skins to hang up in a cooling draught. Niches for cups are at hand, and again there is a runnel for the water dripping from the skin to run outside. The same arrangement is found on most terraces. Upper rooms are used in summer, lower rooms in winter for warmth, for there is no glass in the windows and only ill-fitting wood shutters to keep out the night air.

342 All these amenities will be found on a small scale in the most modest houses. The house of the dhobbi had three floors. It contained about four living-rooms, two washrooms, a kitchen and a store. So that where space is concerned the Hadhrami house does not compare unfavourably with European standards.

000 A film showing Hadhramaut buildings was followed by a vote of thanks to the ~~lecturer~~.

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FIG. 9—Shibam, looking down the Wadi Hadhramaut toward Seiyun (see Fig. 7). Shibam is built on a low hill at the tip of a plateau spur and, for lack of space, grew upward; the buildings are eight to ten stories high. The landlord occupies the upper stories and these parts are whitewashed; the more whitewash, the wealthier the owner. Note the abandoned fields embanked to prevent runoff of water. The upper right-hand margin shows the plateau topography in the direction of the sea, a hundred miles distant.

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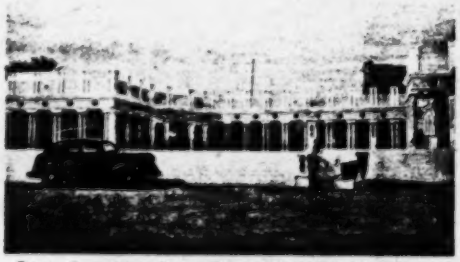

FIG. 10—European guest house at Seiyun. Only one half of the mansion is in view. Most of the courtyard above the steps is occupied by a swimming pool.

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8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

Halfway up from the coast to the top of the Jol, on the road from Mukalla to Tarim, there is a small spring in a coconut grove where agricultural Bedouins live. These people obtain part of their meager income by collecting and selling herbs that are said to grow only in this vicinity as well as from a flock of goats and from coconuts. They are semi-cave dwellers and have walled up with loose stones rock ledges lacking sufficient overhang. The tribe is deft at making coconut-fiber rope, which they prepare for braiding by carefully pounding the fiber on a rock with a wooden mallet. Here a market comes to the door in the form of caravans going to or from Tarim, and to them the rope is sold or traded.

Emigration and Immigration

Lack of employment and overpopulation in the Hadhramaut have caused large-scale emigration to both the east coast of Africa and the Malay States. Even abroad the tribes show a tendency to congregate, with the result that emigrants customarily establish foreign residence with their relatives and friends. Many Hadhramis return, so that today, after a long period of both emigration and immigration, Malay has become a "second language" in the Hadhramaut.

Some have acquired riches, but no one has expended them in a more notable fashion than Seiyid Abu Bekr al Kaf. His family acquired wealth in Singapore and then returned to the Hadhramaut with the hope that through its efforts the cultural and material status of the region might be improved. Donations were made to the poor, city slums bettered, roads constructed; and small English automobiles, transported by camel across the plateau and assembled in the valley, were introduced. An elaborate guesthouse in Tarim and another in Seiyun were constructed, equipped with imported European furniture, and stocked with food and servants so that a foreign visitor might know that accommodation meeting his standards and needs was available. Recently a difficult truck and automobile road between Tarim and the coast, a distance of 170 miles, was completed by the Al Kaf family without outside assistance and at the cost of many thousands of pounds, to connect the hinterland with the more advanced and better-developed and more easily accessible coastal region. However, the greatest humanitarian achievement in the modernization program of the Hadhramaut, that of the termination of age-old tribal warfare and the spread of peace, was not long ago brought about by Mr. Ingrams, assisted by the influential and wholehearted coöperation of the Al Kaf family. At last the incredible, unceasing warfare of the Hadhramaut, where villages only a few hundred yards apart blazed away at each other month in and month out, has stopped, and caravans are no longer sacked by raiding parties.

taking into consideration rations and clothing, is good money in the Hadhramaut, and is sufficient for a soldier's tobacco and personal needs and to maintain a wife and family. Unlike his British counterpart, he does not have to undergo a rigid medical examination, nor is he likely to suffer from the dentist, but if he should fall ill he is treated by the unit medical orderly or a civilian doctor, and provision is made for his admittance to the civil hospital in Mukalla if need arises.

At the end of recruit training a soldier will be sent to one of the posts in the interior, and here the discipline and character-training already undergone will be continued. Some of these posts are sited where desert tracks cross, others near disputed wells or in areas where the tribes have proved recalcitrant. Sometimes local houses are requisitioned, and as Hadhrami architecture derives from the need for security these high, small-based, mud-brick houses are not unlike forts in themselves. In other localities proper small-scale forts have been built, square in shape and enclosing a well in the courtyard, resembling the smaller Palestine police posts or Arab Legion forts. Usually built with towers at two diagonally opposite corners, they have an imposing entrance gate, storerooms and sleeping quarters below, and above two rooms and a balcony encircling the fort. In commanding position, they would fill admirably the requirements of a producer of the *Beau Geste* type of film. From their posts the H.B.L. patrol on foot, perform guard duties, and if necessary provide escorts. Life in an outpost may appear dull, but reliefs are regular, and in his spare time a soldier is wise to learn to read and write, as without these accomplishments he is debarred from promotion above the rank of corporal. Any day a row of four or five soldiers may be observed at the unusual task of laborious reading or writing under the guidance of an officer or N.C.O.

Generally the presence of soldiers in an area has a deterrent effect on any potential law-breakers or tribal raiders, and by mixing with the local Bedouin, and by reason of being themselves Bedouin, they do much to assist Government by explanation and advice. When trouble does occur, minor operations may have to be undertaken to deal with the offenders. During these infrequent periods the soldier receives his best training, and the prospect of more active duty always appeals to him. Although a natural fighter in his own type of warfare and country, the Bedouin is no match for his brother in the H.B.L., who has the advantage of superior leadership, better weapons, and a plentiful supply of ammunition. The expenditure of rounds, which do not have to be accounted for individually, is one of the soldier's greatest joys and entertainments. It may be wondered, if, on occasion, men enlisted from tribes which are hostile to each other carry this enmity with them into the force. Such is not the case, and once in the army they seem to lose their civilian opinions and prejudices and to forget past feuds. However, care is taken that soldiers of a tribe against which force is used are not employed on that task.

Militarily speaking, the Hadhrami Bedouin soldier is quick at drill, and, as practically all of them are born with a rifle in their hands, weapon training, even with light machine-guns, comes easily to them. They are not, however, such good shots as might be expected and have a universal

Tendency to fire high.

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and there was a general desire for peace in order to get on with the work in the fields.

My wife was accompanied by Seiyid 'Alawi al 'Attas and Jemila, a devoted maid servant of the family, who perched precariously on the back of my wife's camel singing Badawin war songs. My wife learnt some of them and they proceeded up the wadi singing duets. Besides being an amusing companion Jemila was a very useful one, for she proved an excellent lady's maid and a masseuse as well. Seiyid 'Alawi has married a tribeswoman, so the party stayed at Zeila in the house of his brother-in-law, one of the principal Ja'da chiefs. Like many Ja'dis their host had been to Java, but the only sign of his travels was a bicycle which he had brought back with him and which he said he preferred to a camel. From Zeila they rode through many small villages to 'Anaq belonging to the Al ash Shaibi, who are credited with possessing the Evil Eye and consequently shunned as much as possible. Seiyid 'Alawi thought it prudent not to mount his camel till the village had been left well behind, in case he was made to fall off by some evilly disposed person. They spent a night at 'Amd, which is almost at the end of Ja'da territory, for a little farther up the wadi the Madhi tribe have their habitat. All the villages in the wadi are much alike with a few three- and four-storeyed houses set amongst smaller ones, and most of them have well-built tanks for catching rain-water. Particularly in the left bank there are many dug-out caves, largely used now for habitation and grain stores. Miss Caton-Thompson says that these were probably all Himyaritic tombs. I think some cave dwellers she met were rather put out when she told them they were living in tombs. Many of the Al 'Attas family, who have much influence over the Ja'dis, have been canonized and their domed tombs are objects of veneration in several villages. My wife's appearance was taken for granted at 'Amd, where she spent a night with women who had been to Java and had seen European women before. They had brought back a few momentos of their travels and impelled by the same spirit that makes us hang Eastern curios on our walls they had hung up a pair of cheap European high-heeled slippers for the admiration of their untravelled friends.

From 'Amd they returned down the wadi following the left bank and passed many ruins, most of which covered low spurs jutting out from the cliffs. At Husn Ba Qasm there are ruins known as 'Adiya Qudha'a which may indicate the site of what was once the principal town in the wadi, as in the days before Islam it was called Wadi Qudha'a. Near the large village of Bateh they passed the time of day with a man who spoke to them from a second-storey window of his house as he dared not go out, for he was carrying on single-handed a war with all his neighbours. Like many others with whom my wife talked he asked for peace. Another had said "We want peace, we're sick of fighting. A man works in his fields and is shot dead—what's the use of it?" And another stopped them and said: "A country without a government is not a country. Bring us peace and settled government."

Returning to Shibam, which is of course the principal Qu'aiti town of the interior, there is west of it past Al Qatn and as far as the junction of the Wadi Du'an a bloc of Yafa'is, with a few Kathiris surviving in such places as Ajlamis on the junction itself and also in the Wadi 'Amd. These Yafa'is have been

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Shibam to the entrance of the Wadi Ser took us three minutes; this journey had taken us exactly two hours on camels, and twenty minutes by car. After sighting the tomb of the Prophet Salih in the Wadi Khonab we turned into the Wadi Ser and at the mouth of the Wadi Latakh I recognized the Bents' Himyaritic caravan signpost. Then we went up the Wadi Sodaf and from Qa' al Fadhul on the *jol* at its head took directions previously given to me by Badawins for Ba Rumeidan, which we found. This is the residence of Tannaf, the principal chief of the Al Baqi Msellem of the Sei'ar. From the air I saw plainly that just before Qa' al Fadhul we were over the northern watershed, from which deep-cut short wadis run south-south-west to the Hadhramaut, and long shallow ones in an east-north-easterly direction to the sands. There was very little habitation over this part of the country, and most of the inhabitants live in caves. After just over forty minutes' flying from Shibam we found ourselves between two short wadis running out into a broad channel of sand which it took us two minutes to cross, and beyond it was a broken mass of rock stretching away to the north-east. The channel itself ran out into the desert just west of the course of the flight, and the distance from Shibam to this point is calcuated at 69 miles. The visibility was perfect. Air Commodore McClaughry, who was with the flight, noted the high mass of the Seiban mountains at least 100 miles away to the south, so that one could also see at least that distance to the north. An unbroken sea of sand stretched wave on wave far away to the horizon. Looking north it was the most remarkable rosy red colour, quite unforgettable and quite unbelievable if an attempt were made to paint it. It was about three-quarters of an hour short of noon local time, so that the colour owed nothing to early morning light. After a few minutes over the desert, which seemed all too short, we came back to Shibam a bit to the west of Wadi Qubhudh.

Next morning we left Seiyun at a quarter to nine on an almost due northerly course. On this outward flight the same facts were observed, deep short ravines running nearly south to the Hadhramaut, and past the paler coloured *jols* of the watershed more shallow wadis running almost east-north-easterly to the sands. In the upper reaches of the southern system we saw a few poor settlements of the 'Awamir and a caravan of some fifty camels plodding its way southward. The whole *jol* from west to east is heavily scored with well-marked tracks, and it is worth noting, as I have also noted on aeroplane journeys over the Wadi Maseila, that east of our course and some 50 miles north of the wadi as it goes towards Qabr Hud there is a considerable rise in the ground, almost a range of mountains. This is probably the Jebel al Wuti of Von Wissmann's map.

After exactly an hour and a quarter's flying we passed over the edge of the steppe and the desert, just by a conspicuous large white patch of sand, the distance from Seiyun being calculated at 112 miles. Again there was the same wonderful sight of endless rosy waves of sand, though when we were directly over the sand I noticed that it was a rich ochre. Just west of the white patch a channel of desert sand opened into the steppe. This proved to be the eastern end of yesterday's channel, separating a long broken up island *jol* from the mainland. Its situation and shape were sufficiently like Madagascar for us to call it that, and the name seems to have stuck in local usage. The flight

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and we were in country with which there had been practically no contact It must really have been alarming to the Badawin: a noisy party in lorries, which they had not seen before, and ourselves in cars, shouting directions to each other in the night and firing Verey lights to show each other the way; but the Badawin materialized out of the darkness, most surprisingly without rifles, directed us time and again on our way, and pushed our cars out of the sand.

After Thukmein, which we left about half-past eleven, we had no great difficulty in moving on as the moon was up. We drove on for some hours and then stopped to let the rest of the party come up. It was bitterly cold and the keen wind cut through us as we huddled together trying to sleep on the sand, but we did sleep and woke to a marvellous dawn. The sunset of the night before, the brilliant moon, and the sunrise are three enduring memories of that night.

The four flat-topped hills of Al 'Abr lay about 10 miles ahead of us, and although only one of the lorries had come on, the other having had one of its many breakdowns, we decided to go on. It was marvellous hard sand on which a speed of fifty was easy and we had quickly left the lorry behind. We made our way into the wadi bed, myself acting as guide as I was the only one who knew the country even from the air. There were one or two Bureiki Sheikhs about with camels, and rather reluctantly they told us that the 'Abdulla bin 'Aun were also there with the camels. A few minutes' driving up the hard wadi brought us to the ruins of the fort, said by the Al 'Abdulla bin 'Aun to have been built by them.

The dozen or so Badawin round the well looked extremely surprised when the car drew up. I suppose they were hardly awake, as the morning was still chilly and they were all wearing their sheepskin coats. A few Bureiki Sheikhs came down and bade us welcome. All the rest of the Badawin claimed to belong to every tribe except the 'Abdulla bin 'Aun. Some said they were Sheikhs, some claimed to be Daham, a Yemeni tribe, and some Nahd, but there were a good many shifty looks and in the course of the morning we sorted out nine who had given themselves away and who finally admitted to belonging to this raiding section. There are only forty-three males all told of the 'Abdulla bin 'Aun, but from the amount of trouble they had given in the past it was well worth getting them under control. They have no houses or settled habitation and are about the only people of the Hadhramaut who have goatskin tents. They are part of the Al Hatim, but Bin Mulhi, their chief, says he has no control over them and the Sei'ar themselves were delighted when we took hostages from them and put in a garrison, whose function is to protect the travellers and not to interfere in other ways.

Presently the lorries came up and I installed the wireless and settled the garrison into temporary quarters. There was nothing at Al 'Abr except the ruined fort of which only one wall still stood, a small stone *murabba'a*, one of the dark cube-shaped shelters used by travellers all over the Hadhramaut, and a hut built of branches of trees and grass of which there was a great profusion. There was also a new *weli's* tomb decorated with ibex horns, and one of the Bureiki Sheikhs took us there and slapping the tomb addressed its lately canonized occupant and introduced us. We put the garrison into the

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that of the Sultanates of the West, though I was interested to find that there was a small Jewish community, and this is the nearest that any Jews have got to the Hadhramaut. The Balhaf Sultan, an intelligent young man whom I have known for a long time, came to see me in Seiyun and asked us to help in extending peaceful arrangements to his country. Though most of the sections have signed the truce the situation is still far from settled, as Miss Stark, who arrived at 'Azzan from the Wadi 'Amd shortly after my first visit, will tell.

A short distance down the Wadi Meifa'a from 'Azzan are the ruins of Naqab al Hajar described by Wellstead a hundred years ago. This is Meepha Metropolis. I have only seen the ruins from the air, though Miss Stark has recently visited them. There are inscriptions also at Husn Gharab on the coast which Mr. Martens, one of this winter's visitors, has recently seen. He too was well received.

Bir 'Ali is the other Wahidi Sultanate and, though the old Sultan has no claim to rule outside his wedge-shaped little walled town, he is unfortunately at present unwilling to compose his long-standing differences with the Balhaf and 'Azzan relatives, which makes settlement more difficult. I have lately had both Sultans in Mukalla and tried to get them to bury the hatchet.

I have had little opportunity in this last tour to do more for the Mahras than visit Qishn, their capital, occasionally, and Socotra I have not visited since 1935. It may perhaps be remembered that the Bin Zueidi section of the Mahras did not exactly welcome us when we arrived at the coast through the Wadi Maseila in 1934, and a couple of months ago for the first time the Mahras asked for intervention in their internal affairs, as the Zueidi tyranny in Seihut had become acute. We are now trying in the normal political way of advice and exhortation to induce them to cease their exactions on unarmed merchants and peaceful citizens in a town in which they have no lawful concern, and I paid my last visit to Qishn a day or two before I left Mukalla.

I had intended to visit Gheidha, the most eastern landing-ground in the Aden Protectorate, but we did not get so far and made a landing at Haswein just west of Cape Fartak. The inhabitants said it was the first time that Europeans had been there, though they called me by my name as soon as I stepped out of the machine. These coastal Mahras are a peaceful folk engaging mostly in fishing, and they have pleasant breeze-swept villages of a simple style of architecture, unlike the Hadhramaut but which reminded Mr. Figgis, who was with me, very much of the Arab dwellings in Northern Nigeria. I do not believe we could really have been the first Europeans to visit the place as there is quite an adequate account of it in the Red Sea Pilot, perhaps derived from a visit of Captain Haines in the *Palinurus* over a hundred years ago. Perhaps too there had been a much earlier European visitor, for authorities on classical geography usually identify Ras Fartak, Cape Syragrus, the Boar's Head, as the point from which Hippolus set forth in about A.D. 45 when he discovered the changes of the monsoons. I have long had a wish to put up on this majestic cape of Fartak a simple obelisk with the inscription, a quotation from the *Periplus*, "Hippolus discovered the changes of the

19: Serjeant U-4 (no date 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

342 In Ṭarīm many houses belonging to the wealthy saiyids seem
552 to have a name chosen by the owner, and Saiyid 'Umar b. Šaiḫ
174 Āl Kāf, our neighbour in Tarīm, called his house al-'Iššah, or 'the
212 nest', but others seem to be called after the name ot the locality, or as the Ḥaḍramī says, after the name of the well, such as the house Ḥamṭūṭ, our neighbour to the east. Houses in Tarīm often have chronograms over the door, generally some pious phrase, worked in the plaster and painted. In Šibām the Maṣna'ah or fort has inscriptions, including dates, in the woodwork. I am convinced that herein lies the explanation of why so very few pre-Islamic and early Islamic inscriptions have been found in Ḥaḍramawt. On dams, on buildings, even in the mosques, the inscriptions which today record the foundation, or repairs effected to a construction, are all drawn in the plaster. The only two Kufic inscriptions I saw in Ḥaḍramawt were on the grave-stones at Ḳabr Nabī Allāh Hūd, and the strange shrine of Mawlā Maṭar. Pre-Islamic stone inscriptions will of course be discovered when excavation is made in the mud mounds which represent the ancient towns and villages of the country.

782 The sacrificial rites described here are probably general to South-
342 West Arabia. (In the Ṣubaiḥī village of Am-Fadjarah, west of Aden I came across very similar practices. A ewe (ġanamah) was slaughtered at the foundation (sās). In the space under the stairs called ḳuṭb, when it was made, another was slaughtered, and on completion of the building a third ewe, called the iklīl or 'crown', was also immolated. As the occupier of the house in question I was asked to defray the cost of these. This is some hundreds of miles from Ḥaḍramawt.) Comparisons with ritual in the ancient world may be made by scholars.

463 According to my early notes in Tarīm, every craft seems to
342 have different categories of workmen, perhaps graded, but I did not explore this possibility. A fully trained craftsman is called a mu'allim, and if you want to have a house built, you go to the mu'allim. Tarīm once had fifty to sixty mu'allims, but now (1947) there are probably only about thirty. Other categories are, the musawwis who builds the dry stone foundation of your house, and the bānī who builds with the clay bricks (madar) and clay (ṭīn). A bānī in Ḥaḍramawt is also a potter (syn. in Yemen, maddār). I heard of an architect in Tarīm who bore the name 'Umar Ya'mur

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which is interesting, because the name for a builder in other parts of South-West Arabia is 'ammār (verb, 'ammar yi'ammir).

When you start to put the first clay brick (madrah) on the stone foundation of your house, you slaughter a sheep or two, or more if you are a rich man. You invite one of the Ṣāliḥīn (pious) such as a saiyid or manṣab to lay the first madrah; a cermony is made out of the entire proceeding, and an entertainment given known as the ḍiyāfah of the laying of the brick (ṭarḥ al-madrah). A sheep is slaughtered on one of the corners (ḫuṁ pl. ḫišam), probably the first to be completed. You then take the sheep's head and lay it on each corner for about a minute or so, in order that the blood may be scattered on each corner. This is done to stop the Djinn from entering the house. Sometimes, if you are slaughtering two head of sheep, you kill on one ḫuṁ and anoint a second, then you kill again, and blood the remaining two. If it is a large house like al-Munaiṣūrah, the Āl Yaḥyā house in which we were living, one may slaughter eight to ten sheep. A photograph of the sās of a house building in Daw'an stained with the blood of a sacrifice is shown by Ingrams [1].

As the sheep is slaughtered, one of the ḫaddāmīn (i.e. the workers on the building) gets on top of the foundation (sās) and halloos (yiḫawwil), and all the other other ḫaddāmīn do the same. (This hallooing is also performed when the rain-flood is coming down the Wādī, and by the Bedouin on the Djōls when rain comes.) They then repeat a number of formulae for good luck, such as the following : —

> Ṣallū 'alā Muḥammad — wa-ṭawwil 'umr filān bin filān — Allāh ya'ṭīh min 'aṭā' — wa-yarziḳuh māl wa-'ayāl, etc.
>
> Bless Muḥammad — and make long the life of so and so (the master of the house) — God give him sustenance — and provide him with money and off-spring.

The sheep's carcase is then taken to a house and divided, one quarter goes to the owner of the house which is being built, one fifth of the remainder goes to the Dawlah (Sultan), two fifths go to Ahl al-Sās, i.e. the builders of the foundations who in

[1] See art. noted in the bibliography.

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Tarīm are the Ahl Bā Ḥuraiš, also the Tarīm grave-diggers [2], and two fifths to the other ḥaddāmīn. The owner of the house customarily gives some of his portion away, but my informant did not remember exactly how much this is, or to whom it is given. Apart from the foundation sacrifice, the owner will also make a separate ḍiyāfah or entertainment in his own house, killing a sheep or two there.

When you have finished setting in position the beams which act as lintels to the windows, exits, cupboards, etc., on the ground floor, and which are known as taisūrah (pl. tayāsīr) or mafḳir), a sheep is usually slaughtered on the corner tayāsīr. The feast given at this point is known as Ġadā al-Tayāsīr [3]. The blood lies on the tayāsīr, and the Djinn drink. Being grateful to the lord of the house, they leave him alone, and protect him from the other Djinn [4]. If however you should happen to be a poor man, you may not be able to afford to slaughter an animal on this occasion, but you give the workmen a meal. At least, in the past you gave the workmen a meal, but as they brought their children etc., with them, you used to find yourself giving thirty a meal, instead of ten or twelve. So this practice has now ceased, and a bargain is made that the men get food in kind, and money to buy meat, instead of having a meal provided for them.

At the placing of the cross-beams on top of the wooden or stone columns (tarkūb ishum, or ta'ḳīd ishum), the master of the new house provides a ḍiyāfah known as Ġadā Tarkūb Ishum, and also

[2] Cf. my article in *Le Muséon*, 62 (1949), p. 159.

[3] Ġadā is used in the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt and Wāḥidī territory to denote food provided in kind for an employee as part of his contract.

[4] I have a pamphlet by 'Abd al-Ḳādir b. Muḥ. al-Šibli of Ḥabbān where it was given me, entitled Toko « Singapore » (Singapore, 1352 H.) which mentions slaughtering on ('alā) the feet of the bride and groom at the Lailat al-Zafāf when the bride comes to her husband's house. Those who cannot buy a beast to sacrifice (ḏabīḥah) break eggs at their feet, a custom common enough in Ḥaḍramawt where I have often seen eggs lying broken outside rooms in which newly-born children lay. An opinion on the practice is cited. « If the ḏabīḥah is slaughtered at the feet of the bride and groom, its religious injuriousness is known, for it is slaughtering out of fear of something other than God, such as the Djinn or the Šaiṭān. This arises from the belief that if the ḏabīḥah is not slaughtered, then a touching (mass) from the Djinn will befall them. Slaughtering at that time is therefore forbidden. »

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a gratuity (dihn, lit. oil, sesame-oil being intended [5]) for the carpenter (nadjdjār), and the architect mu'allim. In Tarīm I dealt with a carpenter called 'Awaḍ Bā Ḥaŝwān of the Āl Bā Ḥaŝwān all of whom were carpenters, apart from a few silversmiths. 'Awaḍ knew of eight ancestors who were carpenters. This gratuity (taġrīb) *pourboire* or *douceur* is usually a riyāl of two [6]. One says for instance, Dī ḳahwah lak, 'this is a little present for you', or Bā A'ṭīk ḳahwah yābisah, 'I'm going to give you a little present of money'.

When the house is actually being built, the neighbours bring the ḥaddāmīn who are working on it a copper kettle (dallah [7]) full of coffee, as an ikrām lak, 'a kindness to you', as master of the house. In Tarīm being a neighbour implies unwritten duties rather more obligatory than such kindnesses as obtain between neighbours in Western Europe. Each time the coffee comes the workmen halloo (yiḥawwilūn), and sing formulae of the type quoted supra, and they cease working until they have finished the coffee [8]. The people of the Quarter [9] used to make a big copper ṭuss (derived from the Persian taŝt) of ḳahwah, carried in a basket with two handles, for the builders, as a kindness to the owner of the house (ikrām li-ṣāḥib al-bait) at the Day of the Foundation (Nahār al-Sās). In return the master of the house would give them a little money present.

When the doors and windows of the house are completed, the carpenters get a meal (ġadā) or entertainment over and above their salary. At the completion of the building of the house, the mu'allim gets a customary present (luh 'ādah) which is called ḳuṣū'ah, and which is usually about ten riyāls. The term is applied to any such present given to terminate a job of work, or to terminate an engagement.

There is a law (ḳānūn) amongst the carpenters, (and one similar amongst the builders), that if you are tired of your carpenter, or

[5] In Aden bribery is euphemistically known as ḥaḳḳ al-salīṭ, ḥaḳḳ al-ḳahwah.

[6] For the riyāl or Maria Theresa dollar, see R. ANDREE, *Zur geographischen Verbreitung des Maria-Theresa Thalers*, *Mitt. der K. K. Geogr. Gesellschaft in Wien*, xvii (1874), p. 267-71.

[7] A small example of the South Arabian dallah, I brought back to the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.

[8] Ḥaḍrami coffee is made from the husk, a few berries, ginger and other spices.

[9] See my article in *Le Muséon* cited above.

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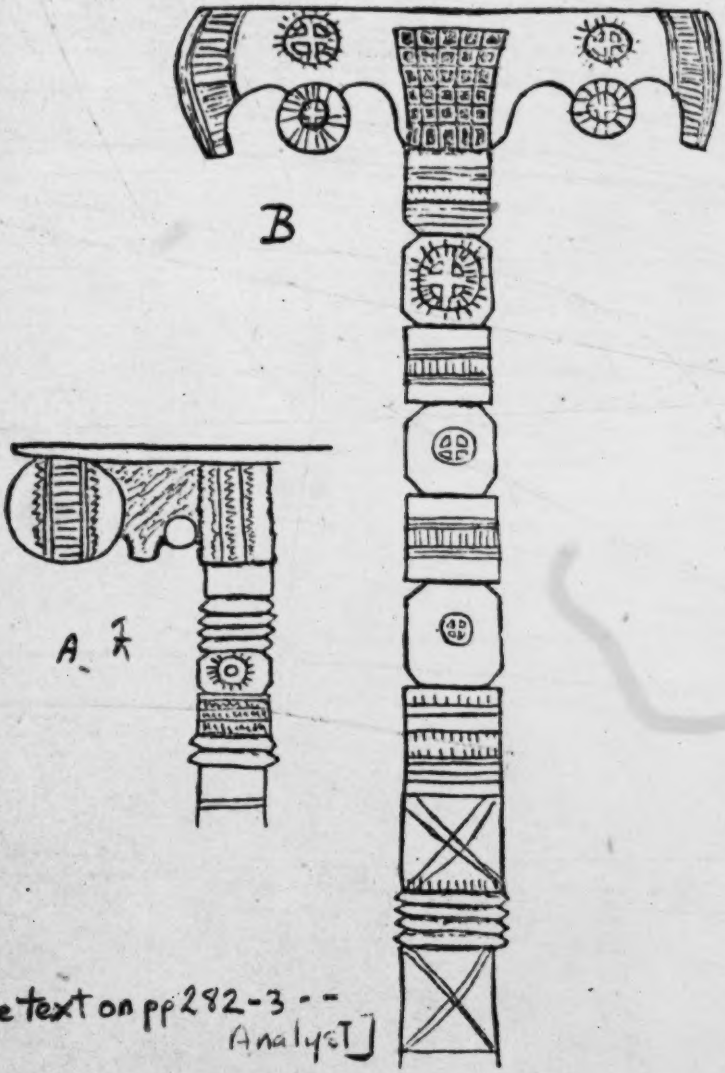
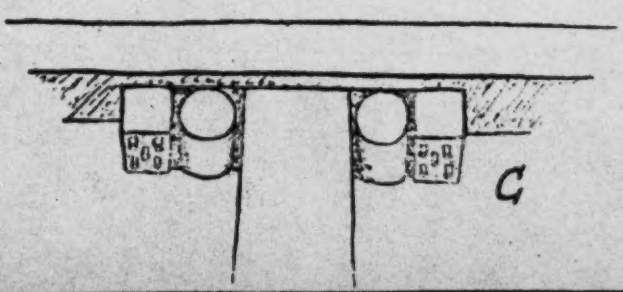


* [See text on pp 282-3 -- Analyst]



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this reduction should be made, issued a decree (taḳrīr) defining the wages of the various categories of people engaged in building. The workmen still refused to accept the revised wages, and some left Tarīm and went to the independent Ḥawṭah of Thibī, outside it and beyond Kathīrī jurisdiction. Some however stayed in Tarīm, but worked at collecting firewood, and refused to undertake building. A *modus vivendi* was established through the good offices of Saiyid Bū Bakr al-Kāf, but whereas, before, the wage of the builders had been two three Āl Kāf ḍarībahs per day, which the wealthy had attempted to reduce to one ḍarībah only, after the dispute all the workmen received three ḍarībahs [10].

To revert to the sacrifice on the sās, I noticed in the fine archaeological site of the town known as Am-'Ādīyah [11] that on some buildings an inscription was located at the *corner* of the sās which was constructed of the typical lozenge-backed Himyarite hewn stone, and that it stood about three feet from the ground. Possibly therefore it was sometimes a custom to place inscriptions in the sās about the place of the sacrifice; they could not be placed higher as the wall above this point is of adobe. These particular Am-'Ādīyah inscriptions are very weather-beaten, and to the best of my knowledge no attempt has been made to copy them.

An interesting feature of Ḥaḍramī building is the shape of the columns, generally carved from 'ilb wood, which strikes one immediately as descended from an ancient tradition. In the Ḥawṭah of Thibī near Tarīm, I first saw the curious capital sketched (fig. C.) from below, with its little round pendants underneath the rectangular blocks. Later I realised that this was a very stylized type of capital, derived from a prototype somewhat resembling the examples in figs. A & B., sketched in my field-book at 'Azzān and

[10] Reproductions of the ḍarībah in J. A. S. BUCKNILL, *A note on some coins struck for use in Tarim, Southern Arabia, Journ. of the Malay of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Singapore, 1925), III, 1. It is the coin which has the number 16 written on it. There were about five to six ḍarībahs to the riyāl (kirš franzāwī).

[11] For notes on this town see S. PEROWNE, *'Im'adiya and Beihan, Aden, Antiquity* (London), xiii (1939), p. 50. The author confuses the name امعاديّة with معاديّة, but it is really the South Arabian article Am = Al, followed by the word 'Ādīyah. It is therefore « the 'Ādite city » which means little more really than « the ancient city ». I visited it in 1941.

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Ṣa'īd respectively, both in the Wāḥidī, Ḥimyar territory. The Ṣa'īd house had in its clay construction that pattern of recessed surfaces one so often sees in fragments of pre-Islamic architectural ornament. Both of these columns are obviously representations of the palmtree, the capital representing the leaves on the outside, and the bunch of dates in its fibre bag (ḫubrah) on the inside. In all cases the capital which is carved out of a single block of wood, is called kabš or ram, a term which brings to mind the bull-headed columns of Persepolis. The room in which I saw fig. B. was the main reception room of the house called rakaiz (which Landberg gives as the general name for the second storey of a house), and the column was called rakīzah.

The following terms, most not mentioned by Landberg, may be of interest; the list makes no pretence at being near exhaustive, and these only apply to the Tarīm area.

manwar (pl. manāwir), a little oriel window set high in the wall.

miṣyāb (pl. maṣāyīb), a hole in the wall at floor-level and the spout to which it leads, projecting outside for drainage (class.).

sawārī, pillars (class.).

safan (pl. asfān & sufūn), a stone base under a wooden column, or round column-drums, roughly six inches in height.

saḥm (pl. suḥūm & iḥum), wooden column, (class.).

kabš (pl. kibāš), a horizontal piece of wood, about three feet in length, placed on the top of a column to serve as a capital, below the beam, (class.).

ḳāsim (pl. ḳawāsim), wooden beam lyving on the top of the kabš (cf. Landberg).

širḳah (pl. širḳ), a beam running from wall to wall.

ḳubl (new plur. aḳbāl), Landberg's « solive ».

'akf (pl. 'ukūf), arch (Landberg). Bait mu'akkaf, a house with an arched roof (i.e. holding up the first floor).

ṭāḳ, any arched hole in a wall used as a shelf, and an arch over a window with a wooden shelf in it.

'ammārah (pl. 'ammarīyāt), cupboard.

mirfa' (pl. marāfi'), shelf. Syn. riff (class.).

ḳawām (pl. ḳiwām), a wooden frame in which a door is set. In Tarīm the sides of it are known as lānah.

ḳafā'ah (or ḳafā'at al-ṭāli'), the jamb over the top of the door.

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mardam (pl. marādim), Landberg's « seuil ».

darf, a door with one leaf.

muslif (pl. masālif), a door with one leaf, a small door in the outer wall of a court for the use of the women of the household.

waraḳatain, two halves of a door with two leaves.

zāfir (pl. zawāfir), horizontal wooden bars on a door, part of its construction (Landberg).

miḳaṣṣ al-dawār (pl. muḳaṣṣah), hinge of tinned iron, with a flange resembling scissors.

ḳuṣf (pl. ḳuṣūf), an ordinary hinge, not specially an architectural term.

madjarr, a chain or rope in an upper room, stretching down to the main door of the house. It can be opened by someone upstairs who is able to view the arrival from an upper window.

maḳbaḍ, a door handle.

sukḳāṭah (pl. saḳāḳīṭ), a bolt from a window-shutter into the base of the window-frame (class.).

zawḳ (pl. azwāḳ), decoration in embossed and painted plaster, or a line of plaster moulding. A synonym is said to be *'aḳf* (pl. *'uḳūf*).

ḥaiš, a metal grille.

Landberg also gives a list of the names of the different storeys of a Ḥaḍramī house, but the Tarīmī names given below differ slightly.

muraiya'ah (pl. āt), a ground-floor room with two to six pillars.

maisamah (pl. mayāsim), a narrow ground-floor room with no pillars.

ġailah (pl. ġiyal), a room on the first storey (ḳaṣr), said to be a synonym of the more usual maḥḍarah (pl. maḥāḍir). I knew the latter as a large reception room.

miruwāḥ (pl. marāwīḥ), a room on the second storey.

ġulb (pl. ġulūb), I have registered these as third storey rooms, but Landberg gives them as a belvedere on the roof.

ḏjanāḥ (pl. aḏjniḥah), a fourth storep room.

saṭḥ (pl. suṭūḥ), syn. raim (pl. ruyūm), a roof (Landberg).

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21; Thomas T5 (no date) 1982 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

a woman's hand as we should in a hand shake is a shameful overture. The stranger meeting a woman would salute her with outstretched hand and a smart tap of the finger tips only.

Generally speaking, the woman in South Arabia has more liberty than in any other part I know. If there are no love matches in our sense of the word, ladies do make *qasidas* which are passed on for those for whom they are intended by word of mouth. Elsewhere no woman would dare sing—it would be unthinkable for instance in Oman, where she would be beaten as a hussy, but I often heard in these mountains the choruses of women at the water-holes, and very charming they sounded.

Marriage in South Arabia requires a *qadhi*, but divorce does not. A man has only to tire of his wife and say *Talaq* three times, whereupon she must betake herself to her father's house with no alimony beyond the original marriage price—wherefore she is a careful woman. If she is tired of him she must return his marriage portion, and her family the purchase price. It is a rule amongst them that a woman who has gone blind is never divorced. A really expensive bride may cost 20 cows, say 400 Maria Theresa dollars, but they can be much cheaper, ranging downwards to one cow or even 10 dollars. The groom and bride representatives (father or brother) descend to the plain where a *qadhi* legalizes the marriage, and on returning, the women folk of the bride, preceded by men, conduct her to the cave of her spouse. The only cave furniture will be a small carpet bought for the occasion. The bridegroom will slaughter a couple of cows to make a feast and invite all to it, but beyond the men's *rabot* (a monotonous chant of the mountains) there is no dancing and joy-making such as characterize rites of circumcision.

With these tribes child-birth seems to be easy for the woman. She works up to a day or two before the child arrives. She bears it under a tree in the open or in a cave with the possible assistance of her mother or sister, the position being said to be not unlike that taken up by a sprinter for the start of a race. They have no beds, there is no lying in and she is generally fit for work the next day.

Illegitimacy is almost unknown in spite of the greater freedom enjoyed. Early and universal marriage is the reason. Transgression for a girl is regarded differently here than elsewhere in Arabia. In Oman an unmarried expectant mother, or a wife committing adultery, would on discovery be murdered by her father or brother—not by her husband. Nothing would be done to the man who had seduced her. Here the girl would be turned out of the tribe and have to fend for herself, and her male relations would wreak revenge on some female relation of the seducer if they could not pursue and wound him with a sword.

CAVES AND HOUSES.

In the mountains men live in caves during the summer monsoon rain, and under trees at other times. They are not nomads and caves are private possessions. In the coastal plain itself, where man makes a house to shelter himself, the first thing he does is to hammer four nails into the respective corners of the house, which are supposed to keep out the Evil Eye. When completed he slaughters a lamb on the threshold as a sacrifice to his walls enduring—

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

342 782 a sort of christening ceremony which we perform on ships with the cooler and more fragrant blood of the grape. The custom in Oman when a new house is finished is for the prospective occupant to slay a sheep on going in. He dabbles his hand in the pool of blood and smears the door-posts. This custom is also observed in the plain of the Dhufar during actual building operations. The meat is eaten by the builders themselves and the blood is smeared indiscriminately over the walls. On the completion of the house, the incomer dashes two hens' [784 607 eggs on the threshold, two on the stairway and two on the upstairs doorway. This is anathema to the mountain dwellers, who in any case have no houses, but chiefly because the hen and all other bird flesh and birds' eggs are with them taboo. It would be the greatest insult to place such things as food before the non-Arabic speaking tribesman of the mountains.

LAW AND DISPUTES.

671 692 As in most tribal societies in Arabia, *hukm al hauz*, or a code of ancient sanctions, is the law. The *hauz* is a wise man of the tribe. Not infrequently his is an hereditary office, occasionally the *hauz* is the shaikh of his tribe. Shara law, *i.e.* holy law in Oman and elsewhere, is the law of the coastal townships. Outside them it will be resorted to in cases of matrimony, and sometimes of divorce and inheritance; in disputes or crime cases scarcely at all. That is the province of the *hauz*. The same is true of these South Arabians. The Shara or holy law is distasteful to these people and can only be imposed even along the coast by government force. Their own code varies considerably from the code of Oman or that of Hadhramaut, showing 683 696 evidences of exclusive origin. They have a passionate attachment to the eye-for-an-eye idea, the need of making the punishment fit the crime. An example, told me by the Wali of Dhufar as having taken place last year is as follows: "X" was going on a journey into the "Y's" country and took a *rabia* from "Y." On arriving there the sacred law of protection was transgressed and "X" found himself wounded with a bullet through the fleshy part of his thigh. A *hauz* heard the case and decided that "Y," the innocent party but member of the offending tribe, must submit to the infliction of a similar wound as that which "X" had sustained. For this purpose a piece of stick was brought and sharpened skewer fashion. This was thrust into "Y's" leg and a bullet was threaded and drawn in its path. By local canons "X's" grievance was removed.

671 692 721 682 628 In Oman the abuse of the *rabia* would be followed by war between the two tribes unless the offended party agreed to the ruling of the *hauz*, when he would receive from the offenders *Laum-al-wijh* (blame of the face), which is usually assessed at 400 dollars. Murder, which in Arab tribal societies is almost invariably settled by blood-money which varies between 400 and 1,000 dollars (or rather its equivalent in kind), in these Qara mountains is assessed prodigiously high, in theory something like 5,000 dollars, which may take a lifetime to pay off, but is most usually complicated by a vendetta. The murdered man may be poor, so that his close relatives will in any case be impoverished, but collections are made from each and every member of the tribe, who as a point of honour or from inescapable custom, must bear the brunt.

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

663 fence round the country and then to leave it to anarchy. On the other hand, there was no wish to introduce direct British rule over a people who are tenaciously attached to their independence. Our policy is therefore to support the treaty chiefs and to lead them and their subjects to appreciate the advantages of the suppression of lawlessness and the maintenance, in collaboration with the British Government, of internal peace and security. At the same time it was laid down as a general principle that the main trade routes through the Protectorate must be kept safe, and that the Government would enforce this decision.

The medium through which this policy was to be carried into effect was a number of political officers centred on Aden, but working in the Protectorate, and I, as Governor at the time, was fortunate in the appointment by the Colonial Office of a group of young men who threw themselves wholeheartedly and devotedly into the work of gaining the confidence and friendship of the Arab tribes and their chiefs, and in promoting the policy upon which the Government had embarked.

712 This work would not have been possible without the collaboration of the Royal Air Force. Aden had become an Air Command in 1928, and the first action of the strengthened Air Force was the ejection of the Yemenis from Dhala, to which I have already referred. This was followed by the construction of landing-grounds. There are now between thirty and forty of these in various parts of the Protectorate, including the Hadhramaut Valley, which had until lately been almost a *terra incognita* except to a few adventurous travellers. Flights by the Royal Air Force over the Hadhramaut were followed by invitations from the local Arabs to land, and the pioneer work of two young Air Force officers, Cochrane and Rickards, led to the establishment of closer contact. The first visit of a Resident of Aden to this strange and most interesting district was paid by myself in the early part of 1933.

556 I have already referred to this remarkable valley of the Hadhramaut,
167 and readers of Miss Freya Stark's delightful and graphic descriptions of her travels in Southern Arabia will be familiar with its peculiar characteristics. Its wealthy seyyids and merchants have generally amassed their fortunes in Java or Singapore, to which countries the Hadhramis emigrate in large numbers, and in which many of them are
[186] owners of valuable house property. They do not, however, lose their
342 love for their original home in Arabia, and many of them eventually return to the Hadhramaut, and there build for themselves the luxurious

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

houses whose semi-Malayan architecture contrasts forcibly with the austere and simple lines of the buildings of native Arab design. These well-to-do people have seen the benefits of law and order in foreign countries, but they found themselves powerless to introduce them among the warring tribes of the Hadhramaut. The country thus presented a strange intermixture of civilized opulence and tribal turmoil. It was at length realized by themselves that these evils could be cured only by foreign intervention, and they appealed insistently to the Protecting Power to interfere. The situation was complicated by the political division of the country between the Quaiti Sultan of Mukalla and the Kathiri Sultan of Seiyun, whose traditional jealousies added to the general confusion.

It was evident to the British authorities that the whole problem presented by this part of the Protectorate needed careful examination before any effective action could be taken by the British Government, and Mr. W. H. Ingrams was deputed by the Colonial Office to study it. His very valuable report formed the basis on which British policy in the country has since been developed, and his appointment as Resident Adviser to the Quaiti and Kathiri Sultans opened a new chapter in the history of the country. Backed by the strength of the Royal Air Force, whose timely punishment of a notoriously lawless tribe gave general satisfaction, he was able to negotiate a network of truces which brought to an end the internecine warfare that was ruining the land, and with the assistance of a small but energetic political staff he was able to inaugurate reforms that are bringing order out of chaos in the Quaiti and Kathiri States. Mr. Ingrams is now Chief Secretary at Aden, but his work in the Eastern Aden Protectorate is being continued by his successor at Mukalla, Mr. Joy.

In the western half of the Protectorate there was not the same demand for reform, because there was no correspondingly large section of the community with wealth and culture and an acquaintance with the advantages of regular and orderly government. Progress has therefore been slower, but the efforts of the British Government to promote peace and internal security have been ably assisted by our loyal friend the Sultan of Lahej, the premier chief of the Protectorate.

The patient work of Colonel M. C. Lake, the Political Secretary at Aden, and of the political officers under his direction has borne fruit in a general amelioration of conditions, and the creation of Government and tribal guards to supplement air control has helped in establishing security on the trade routes and in bringing peace to districts that had long been distracted by blood feuds and brigandage.

CHAPTER II.

MAKALLA.

361 The gate to mysterious Ḥaḍramaut, so long closed to
342 foreigners, is of overwhelming beauty. Makalla stretches like a white ribbon along the margin of the blue sea, at the foot of the steep, reddish-brown rocky wall. The waves beat against the town, the white houses stand straight and strong, and many-storied. The balustrades surrounding the flat roofs are cut in filagree and are as white as lace. The minarets have here already the simple, strong, conical form characteristic of the Ḥaḍramī style. To the extreme left is the new and, behind it, the old palace of the Sultan. The new palace, cream-coloured with brick-red shutters and windows, and light-green verandas, stands on the black rocks close to the sea. The frame-work of the picture, formed by coco-nut and date-palms, mango and papaya trees, is of such a jubilant beauty in this world of rock and sea that the critical sense is lulled: the colouring makes everything, even the absence of style in the buildings, beautiful.

To the extreme right, some way out of the town, there is a third palace, belonging to the Sultan. About half way between these princely buildings is the tongue of land, on which is the old centre of the city of Makalla. There the Sultan originally lived, there stands the ancient mosque and there, on the point, the sturdy bastions of the old fort.

504 On one side of this short tongue of land is the harbour, where the graceful sailing-ships ride at anchor. Small rowing-boats and broad sambooks [1] pass to and fro to discharge passengers and merchandise on the broad stone steps, that

104 [1] A *sambook* is an Arab sailing-boat. It should be spelled *sanbūq* (سنبوق), but has nearly got citizenship in the English language, spelled as it is pronounced.

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361
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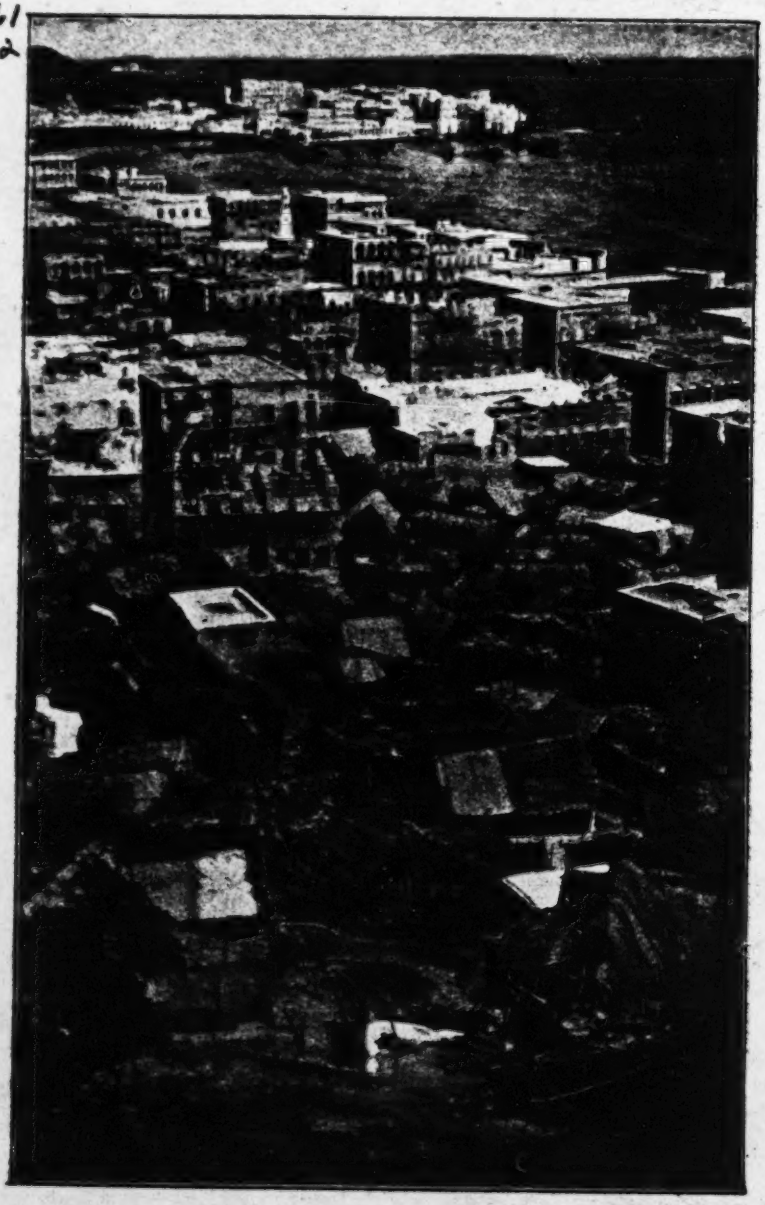

Makalla, seen from the west.

P 16 (B)

24:Meulen and Wiesmann T-3 (1930)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

Makalla. The Sultan's palaces. To the left the black slave quarter.

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P.116(c)

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

137 In little valleys, green, juicy euphorbias grow to a height of six feet. Their fresh green colour and red tuberiferous flowers at the ends of their branches give them, in these colourless surroundings, the air of bouquets.

4. FIRST CONTACT WITH A HADRAMĪ NOMAD TRIBE.

233 A broad plain lower down has a clay soil where grass grows
361 fairly well. Goats, sheep, donkeys and camels graze here, at
342 distances widely apart from each other. Bedouin girls watch over them from a hill-top. This is the *Rēda* [1] of Sheḥēr where are the pastures and headquarters of the wandering Bedouins of these parts. Their temporary camp is on a rocky plateau to the right above the road. We walk with our cameras in their direction, without much hope of success. They do not see us, and the malicious watch-dogs, which elsewhere in Arabia make it impossible to slip past the Bedouin camps, are conspicuous by their absence. The Bedouins of Ḥaḍramaut appear to have no tents; they live in caves, or houses, or huts, or, as in this case, almost without shelter. A space of about five feet square is made by four sticks of about three feet high with other sticks connecting them and over which are spread bunches of long, hard grass, which do not really, however, keep out much sun. There are about ten of these "dwellings" scattered around. Some are even more primitive and consist of bushes cut down, with a few rags stretched over them, thus making a little shade. There is an acacia tree in the camp; its top is made shadier by extra bits of scrub hung between its own thorny branches. A camel with a horribly swollen, inflamed leg lies there; a few men, women and children are sitting around, watching the poor beast's agony.

609 Our arrival arouses some commotion, but they seem tolerant of us and answer our questions with an air of curiosity.

104 [1] A *rēda* (ريضة) is the centre of the territory of a Bedouin tribe, where many of them dwell together. Generally it is a depression in the rocky plateau with some vegetation and agriculture.

Women, with little children, or decrepit, sick old men are sitting under the rough shelters. The babies lie in very practical cradles, which look just like gaping oyster-shells with little feet. The little one lies in the lower shell whilst the upper slants over him as a protection against sun and wind. When mother has to go away she takes the cradle and its contents with her, carrying it with the open side against her. The infant lies on woven rushes or on a skin, and, in the latter case, a round hole four inches in diameter is cut in it so that thus diapers are dispensed with! The mothers stand in great dread of the evil eye, so one must not show too much interest in the babies.

We distributed some small coin among the children and old men, and, as we talked, the uneasiness of the others gave way. A woman discovered a gold tooth in the mouth of one of us, and we both had to submit our mouths to a detailed examination. Outcries of amazement and, thereupon, great and general merriment!

Then they found more strange things about these *Efrendjīs*. The most forward among the women, after having examined our mouths, went further. She began to rub vigorously with her dark, hard fingers on the white inner side of my arm. They all watched in suspense: it remained white! Then she pulled my khaki shirt a little wider open at the neck: again white. All the bystanders burst into laughter, and the examination was continued. My shirt was pulled out of my breeches, and a long-drawn "Ēh! Ēh!" of amazement went up when it appeared that my abdomen was also quite white. The black hand was passed admiringly over that part of my anatomy.

When my examiner wished to continue her exploration, I assured her that the rest was really all the same colour. "Had we done it with soap?" They had heard that the *Efrendjīs* were in the habit of rubbing it into themselves.

"No, God has made us so."

"Doubtless you live in houses so that the sun cannot make you black as we are? Doubtless you only live on milk?"

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Euphorbia candelabra, on the coastal terrace between Makalla and esh-Shiḥr.

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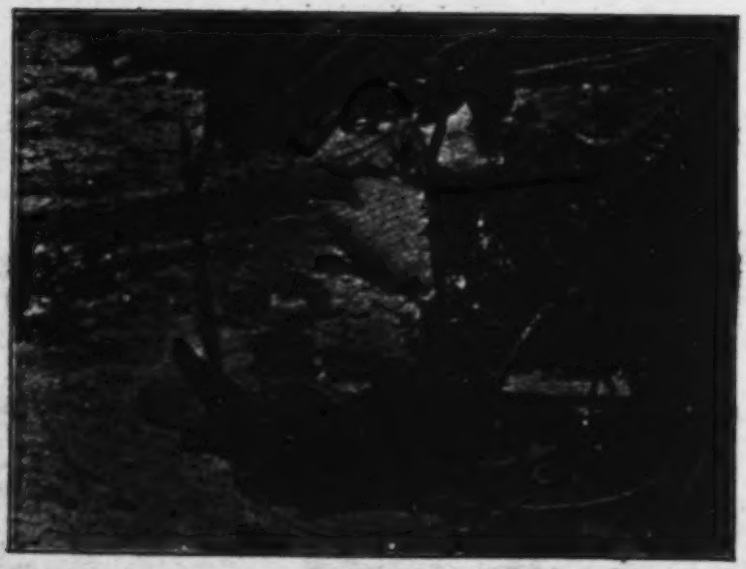
S 54



Dwelling of Ḥaiqī Bedouins at Rēdet Shehēr. In the foreground a Bedouin cradle.

[facing p. 24]

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

green. The eyebrows are shaven off and a finer line is painted in. The hair is shaven off all round the edge and greased stiff and pasted against the skull. All sorts of variations in the use of the above-mentioned aids to beauty are possible. To our taste the result is often more than ugly, not to say terrifying.

Never again were we received with so much friendliness and with so little prejudice by Bedouin women. On later occasions they generally ran away screaming at our approach or hurled furious invectives at us. The people of this Ḥaiqī tribe seemed to know so little about their own religion that they were not yet infected with prejudice against *Naṣrānīs*.

Close to this camp the R.A.F. from Aden have made a landing ground for forced landings. The corners and the centre are marked out by broad lines of chalk. The big aerodrome is on the coast near Fūwa, about three hours South-west of Makalla, and somewhere in the neighbourhood there is said to be a third one.

On the coral terraces grow jathropha and in the depressions aerva, a little bohar, and also incense bushes. There were swarms of young yellow grasshoppers all over the bare rocky ground. The path runs downwards towards a wādī, where fresh water from the Ghēl Bā Wazīr and salt water from the sea meet and mingle.

The village of Sheḥēr lies on the further shore and is said to have 1500 inhabitants, who live in mud huts. In a prominent position above it stands the chieftain's house, which is, at the same time, the villagers' fortress for defence against attack. A couple of rusted cannon lie on the terrace in front of the house. There are loop-holes on every floor in the thick mud walls and the window openings are small. Shēkh Elmās is to be our host: he receives us in a friendly way in his *madjlis*[1], and, at our request, is at once ready to have quarters prepared for us on the roof, but we have to wait till the women

[1] *Madjlis* (مجلس), lit.: "the place where one sits", and has come to mean: the reception-room, meeting, or company.

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have moved out to make room for us and the way is quite clear. Our host himself makes an inspection, to make sure that the feminine inhabitants are shut in behind closed doors before we are invited to follow him upstairs. It is glorious on the roof. We are free there from vermin, and mosquitoes, also, do not seem to come.

We beg urgently that no sheep be killed for us. It is difficult to persuade our generous host to accede to our unusual request, but he does at last realize that we have more desire for tea and fruit. A tray with glasses of tea is brought up to us and a second one with slices of melon, fresh figs, dates and sweets. Shēkh Elmās has seen something of the world; he is related to the Sultan's family and is not without a trace of Indian blood. His brother, the *ʿāmil*[1] of Ghēl Bā Wazīr, the headquarters for the cultivation of the celebrated Ḥumūmī tobacco, is staying with him and gives us a pressing invitation to visit that prosperous and beautiful bit of Arabia. We promised to try and touch at Ghēl Bā Wazīr on our return journey.

5. AN EXCURSION TO GHĒL BĀ WAZĪR.

Our way back to the coast from Terīm was so planned that we were unable to keep our promise to our host's brother. Yet we *did* visit Ghēl Bā Wazīr, but not until after our return to Makalla, when we had to wait several days for our boat to Aden. On June 24th we started for Ghēl Bā Wazīr, via Sheḥēr, in a car placed at our disposal, as before, by the Vizier of Makalla, Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Miḥḍār.

Behind the plateaus of coral formation along the coast is a shallow, extensive loess basin which is watered by a little stream, the Ghēl, having its source in the mountains lying behind the coast terraces. This basin with the strip of land suitable for irrigation, which lies by the banks of the Ghēl, is the chief area for the cultivation of the famous Ḥumūmī tobacco. The little town, which guards the entrance

[1] *ʿĀmil* (عامل), governor.

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to this rich domain, lies at the edge of the plateau of coral stone. As one approaches from the coast one barely sees the gardens of palms; soon one finds oneself in front of a high, white wall, with a great, fortified gate, which, apparently, is kept closed even during the day. The traveller, as he waits, can only see, close to the wall and rising boldly up above it, the Sultan's massive palace which now serves as barracks for soldiers.

We were obliged to wait at a respectful distance from the menacing, fortified gateway until our letter of introduction had been taken to the palace, read and deemed satisfactory enough to admit us into the tobacco town. Ghēl Bā Wazīr, as a city, has not many beauties except for the large and ancient palace and a few mosques, and we were glad to accept the invitation of one of the authorities of the place to proceed at once to the gardens and to the Sultan's country-house in the cultivated district behind the town. We, therefore, drove without pausing through the place, which reeked of tobacco. The valley side of the town, that is the north side, has less defences than the south, whence start the great thoroughfares to Makalla and esh-Shiḥr. Nowadays motor lorries convey the bales of tobacco, which are two yards long, from el-Ghēl to Makalla. Manure for the tobacco fields is brought from the coast on camels.

A richly cultivated area begins immediately behind the town. The Sultan owns much tobacco-growing land, which is said to be a great source of income to him. Close behind the town are two gardens, in each of which is a newly-built summer residence. We enter the first garden with the smaller house which is set aside for the use of the male members of the household. In the other garden is a much larger building for the wives and their female attendants.

The gate is immediately shut behind us, our following of inquisitive youths remains outside, and we stand in the silence of the luxuriant garden, trying to accustom our eyes to the deep shade under the blossoming fruit-trees. It looks just as

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

than Makalla and was, indeed, an important trading centre before that city even existed. [1]

Under the east wall there is a large open plain, over which the cemetery extends, with some *qubbas* [2] and many mosques at the edge of it. Sayyid Abû Bakr el-Kâf of Terîm has, close to it, a large piece of ground, where he has built a palatial guest-house for relations and friends travelling to and fro between Java and Terîm via esh-Shiḥr. El-Kâf is busy constructing a motor road from Terîm to esh-Shiḥr, which is complete but for the last stretch as far as the coast, a matter of three days by camel. If this junction can be effected, in spite of the aversion to it of the warlike Ḥumûmî Bedouins, through whose territory it passes for the greater part, then perhaps esh-Shiḥr will grow again to fit into her walls.

Before we left the town we made another call on the Governor in charge, who, with the help of the tax-farmer, a well-educated Indian, gave us a hearty, friendly reception. We were conducted past a strong guard of soldiers to an old-fashioned *madjlis*, where the shutters of the windows and the wooden supporting pillars were beautifully carved, and the ceiling painted white, red and black. With grateful relish we partook of tea and a great variety of sweets and of fresh and tinned fruits.

The population of esh-Shiḥr is officially estimated at 9000. It did not seem to us that it could be more than 6000. Yet, as the Westerner does not get to know how densely peopled the big Arabian houses are, our calculations remain fairly uncertain. The town has 36 mosques.

We were compelled to beat a hasty retreat before the rising tide. For safety's sake we were given an extra Ford car and some soldiers. The coral rocks were still just passable, but we stuck in the bed of the wâdî. Finally, after much delay and much fruitless exertion, we got free, but there was no time left for the promised meal with our host of Sheḥêr, who

[1] Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, art. *al-Shiḥr*.

[2] *Qubba* (قبة), is a dome, a cupola, or a cupola-shaped building.

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drinks. One must accustom oneself as soon as possible to the fixed habit in this country, of drinking one after the other out of the same cup or bowl. Even among the very rich and the Sultans, the big earthenware drinking cups are passed from guest to guest. One sees the soldiers and slaves drink out of them too. The water in the *siqāyas* is often dirty, with a variety of odours and tastes; it also swarms with larvae and the like, but thirst soon teaches one not to notice them and the aversion diminishes in course of time!

In Zemān eṣ-Ṣeghīr we were able to buy milk, buttermilk (here called *rūb*), lemons, coco-nuts and bananas, but at high prices.

In the afternoon we proceeded and in a short time arrived on a plateau, fairly thickly covered with tufts of grass and low shrubs, where two villages, el-Ghēḍa and el-Ghiyāḍa, lie among well-cultivated fields of tobacco, surrounded by a small grove of date-palms. The mayor of el-Ghiyāḍa is related to the family of el-ʿAṭṭās; we were therefore desirous of calling upon him. The door of his simple, mud, mayoral residence was decorated with particularly fine carving. We were received in a little, dimly-lighted room that served both as a place for storing tobacco and as a reception-room. The mayor had been in Batavia for seven years and had there acquired some wealth in the *batik*[1] trade, which a son is now continuing. As soon as I was informed of this, I proposed to converse in Malay instead of in Arabic. Our host eagerly agreed and we were soon deep in reminiscences of Java. Meantime coffee was prepared, consisting for three quarters of ginger and for one quarter of coffee, and a great earthen bowl of cold water passed from mouth to mouth. These porous, unglazed bowls filled with water are placed in the small window openings, and the hot outer air causes the water which exudes through them to evaporate, thus cooling their contents. One finds the same

[1] *Batik* is the name of the specially Javanese art of decorating and dyeing pieces of cloth used as garments. The thus decorated pieces are also called *batik*.

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tinually along the wall of rock. They move slowly and very cautiously, and the whole caravan reaches the bottom of the wādī without mishap.

The advance guard with the donkeys has long since arrived. A crowd of boys stands waiting for us, and in the background, in the shadow of the date-palms, there are a number of women, who do not wish to let slip this chance of seeing Naṣrānīs. The Governor, Bā Ṣurra, has sent a few soldiers to show us the way to his castle. They look like Yemenīs and, indeed, come from the western highlands. The villages and towns are situated close up against the slopes of débris above the cultivated fields. The houses are high and well built, often against steep inclines. Only a few of the rich have allowed themselves the luxury of a whitewashed top storey. The path winds through date-groves to the *naṣna'a*, the castle of the *Dōla* (Government). The date-palms are strong, fine trees; heavy clusters of yellow and red dates hang downwards from their crowns. Each tree is surrounded by a mud wall, so that, when the *sēl* comes, the roots are not washed bare, and a considerable amount of water is kept inside the little wall. Even in the deeply shaded plantations our feet sink in a thick layer of dust as fine as powder, for there has been no *sēl* for a long time.

2. BĀ ṢURRA, THE GOVERNOR OF WĀDĪ DŌ'AN.

The path leads steeply upwards through the village of el-Maṣna'a to the castle, which stands on the top of a rock high above all the other houses. It looks like a great mediaeval fortress with corner-towers, heavy triple gates, with stables, soldiers' quarters, halls and living-rooms. The stout wooden gates are magnificently carved, and decorated with metal plates and nail-heads. The first gate is opened by a guard of soldiers. We pass through a passage to the second gate, and then through a stable, past some calves, to the third. Then we are led through a hall, full of soldiers, to a narrower one, really

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much with Bā Ṣurra and is present now. The Deyyin are said to be a wild and primitive tribe, but their chief makes a congenial impression. We did not know at the time that we should pass through his territory on the return journey, otherwise we should have used this opportunity to make some arrangements in advance. The *Muqaddam*[1] of the Deyyin claimed to rule over 2500 Bedouins and maintained that to him who stood under his protection no harm from man could come, but only that which came from God.

The unbroken groves of palms in Wādī Dō'an appear to produce only enough dates for home consumption and for the use of the neighbouring Bedouins. The export of dates does not exist. Barely 400 to 500 camel-loads of honey are sent every year to the coast. There is much import trade, however, *e. g.*, in rice, sugar, flour, kerosene, coffee, tobacco, materials for clothing, etc. The trade balance is consequently rather unfavourable. The situation can, however, be maintained, thanks to the money earned abroad, much of which is sent into the country.

The rest of the morning we spent in sauntering through the plantations of date-palms and the little villages which lie beside them, standing out against the sunny hill-side. When we passed by el-Qarrēn the young sons of Sayyid Muḥammad bin 'Abdallāh bin Ṭāhā el-Bārr el-Munṣib dashed up to lead us in triumph to their father's house. It is, indeed, worth the trouble of a visit. Although it is new, the fine old style has been adhered to. The wood-carving on doors and windows and the ornamentation of tin-coated iron plates and nail-heads is true Ḥaḍramaut. The house is built of mud on a foundation of boulders bound with mud. The inhabited floors are whitewashed as are also the filagree, stone-work balustrades of the flat roofs and their corners and decorative borders. Built close to these rich houses there is nearly always a mosque with a minaret, both of them dazzlingly white. In such a case,

[1] *Muqaddam* (مقدّم), the first, the chief, the leader.

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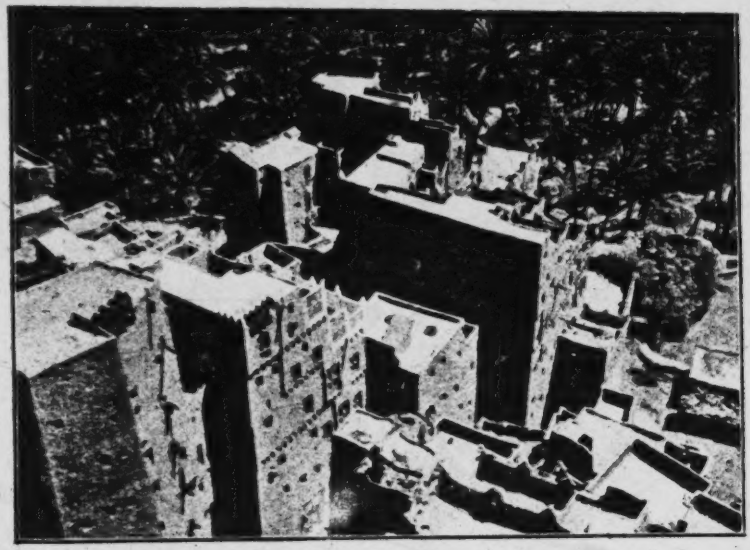
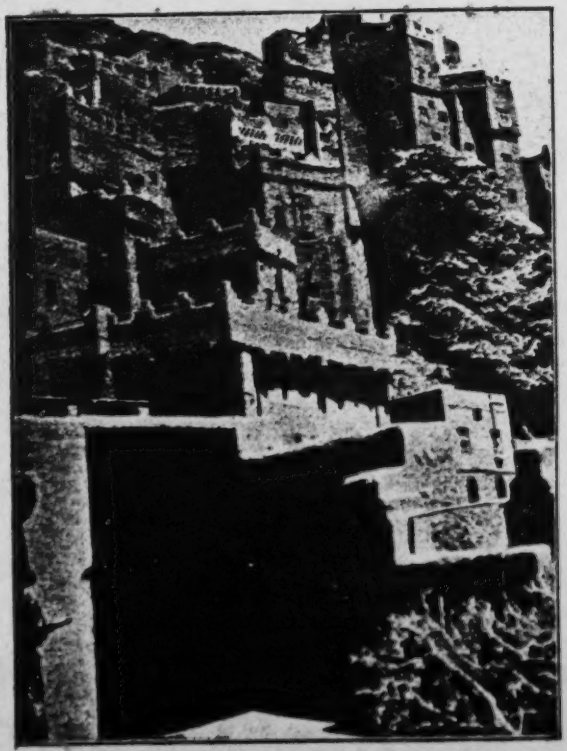


'Ora the village where we stayed, seen from the roof of Bā Ṣurra's castle.



From the roof of our house at 'Ora, looking up to the Governor's castle.

064 (A)

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The Maṣnaʿa of ʿAlī Ṣurra, standing like a mediaeval castle high up against the rock-wall.

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See page 63.

p64(C)

348 a passage, opening onto roof-terraces where, at this time [623] of the day, one is conscious of a breeze. The old blind Bā Ṣurra sits there surrounded by his counsellors and the chiefs of the allied Bedouin tribes. Bā Ṣurra rises with difficulty and gropes his way forward in order to greet us. He is a stately figure with a long, white beard, and his mind is still active and 574 his voice clear. We are very tired and warm, and gratefully 264 enjoy the small cups of bitter coffee and the endless glasses of hot, sweet tea which succeed them. The young slave, who makes the tea in a samovar, asks whether we wish for Ceylon or Java tea. Lumps are broken off a sugar loaf with iron pincers and are dropped into the glasses. Afterwards we are offered dates and tinned pine-apple. Bā Ṣurra gives us the choice between lodging in the castle or in a house in the town. We decide upon the latter and go there in procession, accompanied by soldiers and by grandsons and grand-nephews of the *Ḥākim*.[1]

342 The house is five storeys high and stands at the edge of the village of ʿŌra, and from our roof we look down upon the crowns of date-palms. Our quarters are uninhabited and clean; Bā Ṣurra has had carpets laid in the room, which we share with 000 Sayyid ʿAluwī. All our hangers-on follow us upstairs and remain to watch and see what wonderful things emerge from our luggage. The fine, clever-looking descendants of the Governor put many questions to us and tell us much, and seem to be quite comfortable in the packed and stuffily hot room. It is with difficulty that we get rid of the crowd. The boys help in this, but, having accomplished it, do not dream of taking their own departure! They only stroll off at last under the promise that they may return in a couple of hours' time.

After the lapse of an hour three little boys come and will not be denied; they have an urgent message for us, they say, and with self-assurance they relate that their father has the

104 [1] *Ḥākim* (حاكم), governor, magistrate.

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passages connect the house with the lower portion as well as with the flat roof of the mosque. In the hot season the sunset and evening ritual prayers are always performed on the roof, and the *ʿālim*[1] sits here in the evenings, teaching the recitation of the Koran to a circle of lads. A sayyid who has made his fortune abroad will first build a mosque in his native village and afterwards a big house for himself. For does he not owe the privileged position in his own country to religion, and to Allah's help the riches that he has successfully amassed in foreign lands? The abnormally large number of fine mosques in the poor country of Ḥaḍramaut is the result.

As in the other houses, the passages and stairs in Sayyid el-Bārr's house are plastered with light-brown mud mixed with finely chopped straw. The floor is always ribbed in a design of waving lines imprinted into the mud whilst it is wet. There are wooden pillars in the large rooms as there are no strong supporting beams for the construction of the roofs, which are always made of the split trunks of date-palms. The fibrous, brown stem of the tree is often plastered over with mud or covered with a wattle-work made of the split ribs of the leaves of the date-palm. Rust-red, black or white are the tasteful colours used in such wattle-work and, indeed, also on the layer of mud.

One usually enters the *madjlis* or reception-room by a door in the middle of the shortest wall. On either side of the door there are great wooden chests, in which the sleeping-mattresses and pillows are hidden away during the day-time. These heavy, finely carved chests, decorated with tin-plated iron, are frequently the only ornament of the room. The window openings are small and close to the ground. In the houses of the rich, the wooden shutters and framework of the windows are carved. The floors are covered with simple mats of plaited palm-leaves over which the rich people lay carpets.

[1] *ʿĀlim* (عالم), a learned man, in this case, a man who thoroughly knows the religion.

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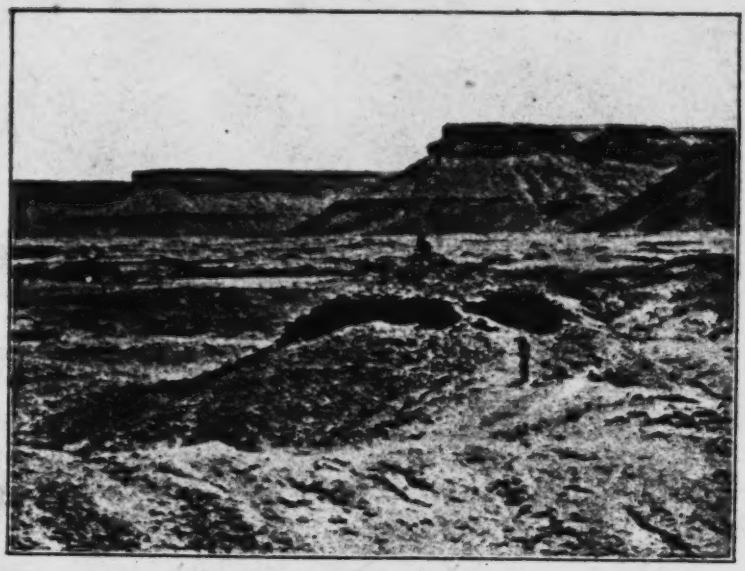

The "Graves of the Kings".

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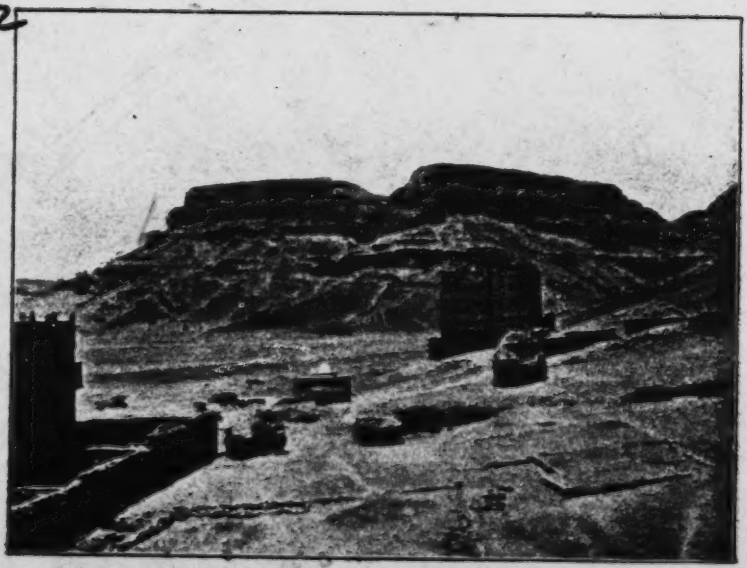

The el-ʿAṭṭās house in Ḥureḍa.

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See pages 86 and 90.

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721 are the centre point of a country at war, for two groups of villages have been fighting each other here for the last eleven years. The brothers Āl Buqrī are the commanders on one side. The castles are very high and armed at every point against possible assault. The gardens are surrounded by mud walls, in which are gates made of strong wood with iron-wrought, ornamental plates. We are yearning for a drink and for a place of shelter against the sand-storm. Soldiers' heads appear over the balustrade on the roof in reply to the tooting of our car, and they call out that we must turn to the other side of the castle, as in this side we are liable to be hit by enemy bullets. The enemy villages are about half a mile away. The gate on the safe side is opened and we see the brothers Āl Buqrī standing in the midst of their soldiers. They bid us a friendly welcome and, crowded round by soldiers and children, we are conducted to a large *madjlis* on the third floor.
●342 The house is one of the largest and, above all, one of the tallest that we have seen here so far. It is still new and finely constructed, and is plastered all over with white, inside and out. The outside is ornamented with dark-grey edges to the windows and terraces, giving an effect which shows very good
721 taste. The martial individual who is the general is a tall, thin, broad-shouldered man with piercing grey eyes and an aquiline nose: a typical soldier. When we are seated and the phrases of welcome are at an end, the General says: "War is a man's business". This is his answer to our inquiring glances along the walls on which rifles and cartridge-belts are hanging, whilst below them, in close-packed rows, his soldiers are sitting. Upon this follows a conversation from which we learn that our host served with the British in East Africa, where he learned his "man's business". He can, however, take in good part a flat contradiction from us. After an argument, followed with attention by the soldiers, the two Buqrī brothers jump to the other extreme and express their weariness of war and their longing for the end of this cap-
000 tivity in their own house. Fighting is stopped by mutual

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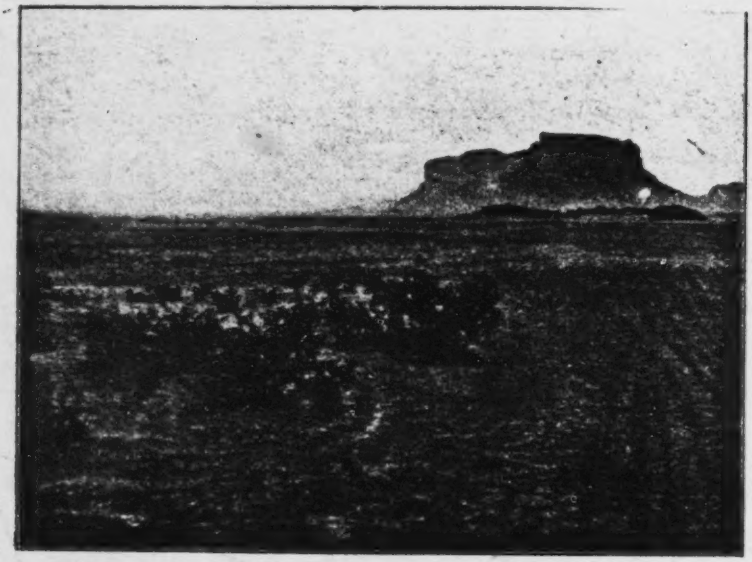

A sand-storm blowing up in Wādī 'l-Kasr.

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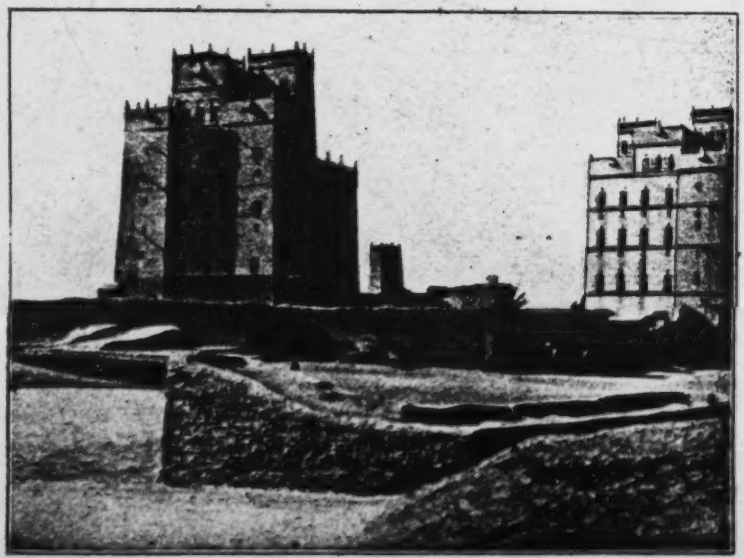

A war centre at the portal of Ḥaḍramaut Proper:
Diyār Āl Buqrī.

P 104 (A)

See pages 101 and 103.

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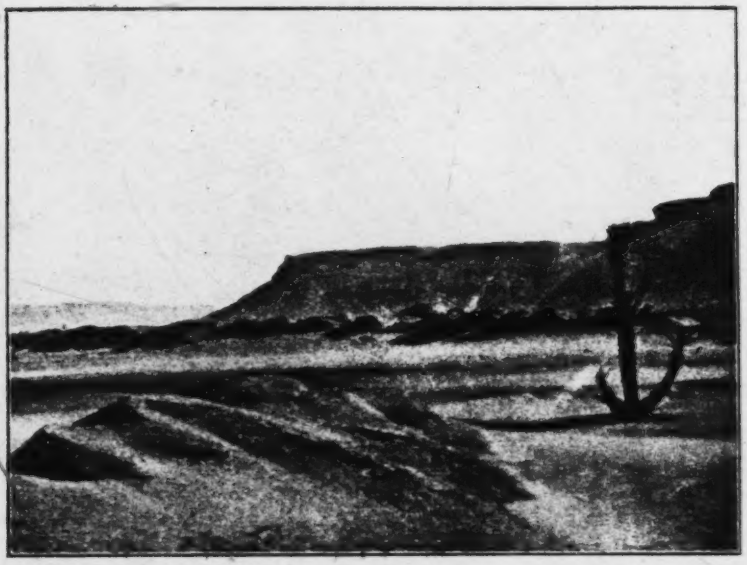

Hillocks of loam and sand near Diyār Aī Buqrī.

341
342

The old dying town of Hēnin.

p104(D)

See pages 104 and 105.

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where it empties itself into a little mud basin, out of which the irrigation conduits lead to the cultivated ground. Work at the well occupies the whole family: father and son guide the animals and walk with them in hauling ropes and mother and daughters relieve them at this work. Two old dames sit in the shade making ready food for the beasts, which consists of dry straw bound round with fresh green into bundles, that are pushed into the animals' mouths whenever they arrive at the top or bottom. I saw women continuing their mat-plaiting whilst, at the same time, walking backwards in the traces down the slope of the track. The work is very tiring: pulling whilst going down hill and then climbing up again. The path, on which their walk begins at sunrise, is as long as the well is deep.

2. TO THE SULTAN'S PALACE IN EL-QAṬN.

One sees the tall buildings of Ḥōṭat el-Qaṭn even from afar rising above its walls and the tops of the date-palms. The place is not large and is situated, like the townlets in Wādī Dōʿan, stretched out and closed in between date-groves and the rock-barrier. It is surrounded by a mud wall kept in good repair. At the gate of the town we see our caravan; it is on its way to Shibām with the baggage and is resting here during the heat of the day. Although we are informed that the Sultan is staying in Shibām, we wish to pay a visit of courtesy to his deputy at the palace; possibly he may allow us to make a survey and to photograph from the roof of this very high building. The palace has just been partially renovated and, consequently, has not yet the gay outside decoration of whitewash. A broad staircase leads to a large, finely carved door. There we give our letter of introduction to the guard and after some time we are invited to follow him upstairs. By way of broad passages and endless stairs, both plastered with dried mud, we arrive at the reception-room, which has just been finished. Much of the beautiful old Arabian style is spoiled here by

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342 western importations. Genuine oriental carpets have been
353 replaced in part by others from European factories. The wood-carving is painted. The aristocratic old colours of brown, red and white are crowded out by more glaring and less harmonizing dyes of western manufacture. Coloured glass has been applied as an ornament above the doors and windows. Though the old be more beautiful, the new is more cheerful, lighter and cleaner.

701 A shy relative of the Sultan, of Indian appearance, receives us. Sayyid ᶜAluwī had not had our visit announced long enough in advance and, consequently, we took him somewhat by surprise. Our request to take photographs from the roof is complied with. Our host even climbs with us up the many remaining stairs, and he appreciates our unfeigned admiration as we gaze around us over the magnificent country of el-Qaṭn. There is a large grove of date-palms behind the palace. The Sultan's mosque, completely white, stands out finely against the grey-green tops of the palms. Beyond, we see, walled off apart, the large palm-groves and the white country-houses of Yāfiᶜ soldiers and officers enriched by service under the Qeᶜēṭī Government. Soldiers and officers of former Sultans have been rewarded with grants of land. Some of them have become men of means, and they have founded a whole colony of Yāfiᶜ here; they are under the obligation to give their help to the Sultan against his enemies in times of danger. The town, in which are some large, opulent-looking houses, lies close up against the rock-wall. We cannot stay too long on the roof, for, in so doing, we should oblige our host to stand with us in the burning heat of the sun. After Wādī ᶜAmd and the journey through plains of loam-hills and sand, and the halting places of Diyār Āl Buqrī and Hēnin, this first acquaintance with the real, true Ḥaḍramaut is certainly a great surprise. Wādī Dōᶜan was very beautiful, but this is grander and more spacious. Wādī Ḥaḍramaut reaches a breadth of five miles here.

000 We notice, when passing through the lower floors of the

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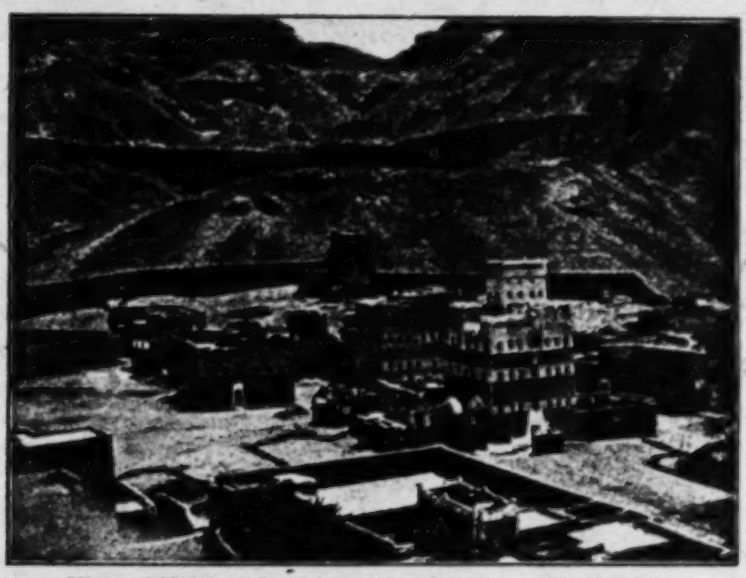
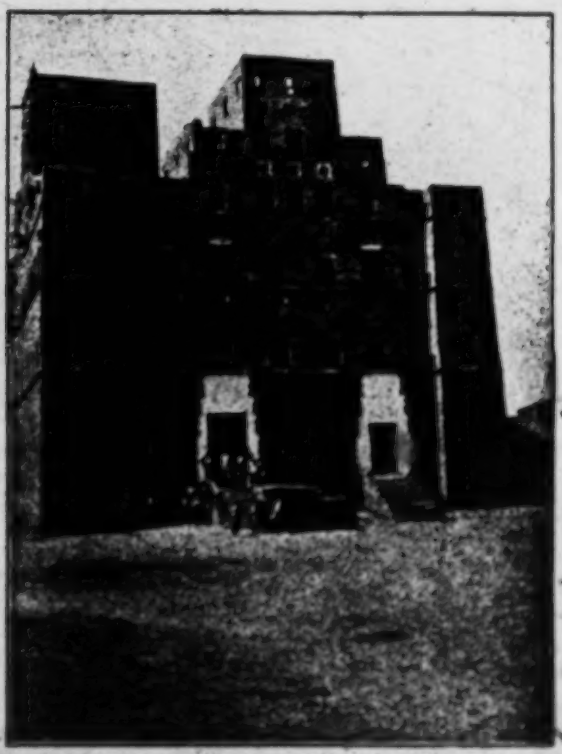


View of Ḥōṭat el-Qaṭn from the roof of the Sultan's palace.



The Sultan's palace at el-Qaṭn p.112(A)

●342

The Sultan's palace in Shibām.

p 112 (D)

See page 113.

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4. A WONDERFUL RECEPTION IN THE GARDEN CITY SEḤĒL SHIBĀM.

491 The families of Āl Ṭuwēy and Laᶜdjam are on the best of
493 friendly terms with the Sultan and arrange matters with him. A little later the great dark-red cars buzz through the gate and cross the *sēl*-bed in the direction of the palm-groves, called Seḥēl Shibām. Only in the last few years has the motor-car penetrated as far as Ḥaḍramaut. Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf of Terīm has made this possible by the construction of motor roads. Motor-cars can, with great difficulty, be brought from the port of esh-Shiḥr to Terīm. The separate parts of the cars have to be transported on camels for a great part of the way.
562 From the road one can see very little of the palm-groves
529 and the summer pavilions in their midst; high mud walls shut
516 off the gardens from the gaze of passers-by. There is one exception to this, where the central point is formed by a new building in modern style. This is the club of the young men of Shibām; no women come here and so there is nothing to shut
312 off. A little further on the cars turn into the gateway that
342 gives entrance to the garden of the Āl Ṭuwēy and Laᶜdjam.
177 This summer abode of their joint families is still uninhabited;
351 the time for moving from town to country has only just come. There is a well behind the house, from which oxen and donkeys draw up the water, clear as crystal, though tasting somewhat bitter. All around there are banana and papaya trees, pomegranate and lemon bushes as well as date-palms. The new summer pavilion is in the depths of the garden; our host has devoted his leisure to building it. It is a product of Ḥaḍramī imagination influenced by Singapore and Java. For the outer walls chaste, simple white has been abandoned and is replaced by soft green, rose and sky-blue. The great windows are framed by coloured ornamentation. Connected with the villa is a swimming-bath with a high parapet. One has a great longing for colour in this sunny land, where it is so lacking, and this fairy palace strikes a happy note among

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the grey-green tops of the date-palms with the unchanging yellow-brown rocks in the background. The contrast between this part of Ḥaḍramaut and the desert of burning loam and sand, which scorches up the small, dying villages, is certainly great. To our regret we are only able to make a short stay in this land of enchantment, as the Sultan expects us at the palace for the evening meal. Our hosts take us back to the town and ask the Sultan whether he is willing for us to stay with them in their garden villa for the night. Permission is given and the Sultan even promises to spend the next day with us there. We eat alone in the palace; the Sultan retires after inviting us to draw up to the dining mat and to fall to. Afterwards by moonlight we return to the garden. Tea and pomegranates are served on a terrace. The conversation, carried on in Malay, is not fatiguing; our hosts make us feel how welcome we are and how much they appreciate this break in their very monotonous existence. When we wish to bathe in the swimming-pool we are provided not only with spotlessly clean bathing-gear but also with combs and scent. The moon shines in calm, silent splendour on the dark crowns of the date-palms, the water is clear and lukewarm. We ask ourselves over and over again: "Is this real? Is this actually Ḥaḍramaut, the secluded, the fanatical, the poor?"

Sultan ʿAlī bin Ṣalāḥ came, as arranged, on the following morning. He at once made searching inquiries as to our further plan of travel. We are here on the farthermost limits of the Qeʿēṭī territory and naturally the question arises: "What will await us among the Āl Kathīr?" We told the Sultan that our experiences would determine our return route. We should now go first to see the famous Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf in Terīm; if he approves and thinks it justifiable to take the risk, then I, at least, shall have to return by the shortest route, and that will be direct through the Ḥumūm territory to esh-Shiḥr. Sultan ʿAlī's advice is strongly against this, the road is dangerous and Sayyid Abū Bakr has only financial influence and no governmental authority. No, we must return to Shibām,

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about the land outside their own small territory. The Sultan knows neither Sēwūn nor Terīm; Hadjarēn was recognized by none of those present.

On this same day, before proceeding further, we return to Shibām to have a good look over this wonderful city. The streets form narrow, dark tunnels between high, grey houses built in rows. In the middle of the street there is a drain of masonry into which runs the dirty water from the houses, which splashes down into the street from many gutters made of the trunks of date-palms. Cats, donkeys and chickens are doing themselves well on the reeking brew. We are obliged to look upwards constantly to see wheth an evil-smelling rain is not beginning to spatter down from one of the gutters. The houses are five or six storeys high; only the top storey is whitewashed and that cannot be seen from the street. The mosques stand in the open spaces and look indeed like toys made of sugar amongst the many tall, gloomy houses surrounding them. In the bazaar streets is a great crowd of buyers and sellers. These latter have either miniature shops or booths on the streets. The doors and windows in the houses of the rich are of magnificently carved wood. The keyhole for the huge wooden keys, which with their many wooden pegs look like brushes, is close to the door, about 4½ feet from the ground, and is usually shut off by a little shutter, neatly decorated. The dim obscurity, the stifling heat and the extremely foul streets offer, of course, good conditions of existence for flies, mosquitoes and other spreaders of disease germs.

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241 protecting baskets. Sēwūn is said to be the finest and largest
town in Ḥaḍramaut. It well deserves its appellation "eṭ-Ṭawīla,
[103] the Long", but it could also be called "the Clean" or "the
●342 Beautiful". The houses are lower and smaller and stand wider
361 apart than those of Shibām. Also dirty water and other iniquities do not simply rain down into the streets. They flow through open or covered gutters along the outer walls of the houses into closed-in cesspools of masonry. It is true, the streets are also narrow; our cars, from time to time, could only just pass through them, but there is plenty of light and no bad smells. At the gate of the massive palace of the Sultan we learn that the authorities are awaiting us in the summer residence ʿIzz ed-Dīn. Sēwūn and this garden city have quite grown into one; many of the wealthy families live in their garden palaces the whole year round. Passing through a gate in a mud wall we drive up a great courtyard which is flanked by a long white building, only one storey high. The tops of the palm-trees overhang the edge of the spacious roof-terrace, which for the greater part is carpeted and where the Sultans of Sēwūn and Terīm await us, surrounded by their counsellors.

2. THE SULTANS OF SĒWŪN AND TERĪM AND THEIR SURROUNDINGS.

643 ʿAlī bin Manṣūr bin Ghālib bin Muḥsin Āl Kathīr, Sultan of Sēwūn, is a short, thick-set man, with one eye, with which, however, he looks at his guests with double friendliness. His brother and his two little sons are also among the great gathering there assembled; likewise his nephew, the Sultan of Terīm, a tall, slim, very dark-complexioned young man, whose name is Muḥammad bin Muḥsin Āl Kathīr. The Sultan of Terīm is generally in Sēwūn with his uncle; his small, graceful, white palace is almost opposite that of the latter; it is much more beautiful than the one in his official place of residence.

000 In the middle of the roof-terrace is a room, open on all

●342

A carved door in Shibām.

p 120 (D)

See page 118

middle of the roof-terrace is a room, open on all sides, but shady during the day, where meals are served. One can see that we are nearing Terīm with its refinements of civilization from the iced water that is brought round here in huge thermos flasks. Sēwūn is the mother city of many Ḥaḍramīs who have amassed wealth in Java and the Straits Settlements. There is oriental exaggeration in the Sultan's greeting: "You are really the Sultan of this land, for more than half of its inhabitants are Dutch subjects", but there is a kernel of truth in it, for Sēwūn is deeply under the influence of Indonesia. Is not Malay perpetually spoken in the Sultan's entourage? Does one not hear that language in the mouth of the children in the streets of the town? All sorts of words from Java have been absorbed into the colloquial. The meals served are real Javanese rice meals (*rijsttafel*). Even the few horses that Sēwūn possesses have been imported from Western Java. According to the Sultan, there are some thirty Javanese women who have been brought here by their husbands and who will never more return to their country. The mixture of races can also be noted in the shape of the faces and the features of the children on the streets.

Conversation flows smoothly and is only interrupted by the *ṣalāt* and by meals. As the Sultan[1] has much trouble from enemies who work against him behind his back with the help of money earned in Java, it is not to be wondered at that he has many requests to make and much to say to the envoy of Holland. He would be glad to have the aid of Holland to subdue his enemies in Java. A Government edict threatening banishment from Netherlands India to all who should further a revolutionary movement in their own country would be considered sufficient here. During the following days there is a great deal of talk over this subject and others connected with it. Later on, in the sayyids' circle in Terīm, another additional question is raised, namely, that of the struggle between the Ḥaḍramī sayyids and the Ḥaḍramīs who do not belong to this privileged class, in which struggle they consider that the Government of Netherlands India takes a line which is too

[1] [ʿAlī bin Manṣūr bin Ghālib bin Muḥsin al Kathīrī, Sultan of Sēwūn — Author]

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000 The heat of the sun drives us away, however, from our bare hillock, but the Sultan promises to give us the pleasure of another similar excursion in the evening. We shall meet again at lunch in the palace of the Sultan of Terim, who is to entertain us to-day.

353 It is exceedingly hot when, some hours later, we leave the
• 342 garden city and proceed to the palace. We are received in a broad corridor, the only place where there is some breeze and, thus, some degree of coolness. The corridor is spread with beautiful carpets; at one end is a table with chairs placed round it, at the other end cushions lie on the carpets. The reception begins on chairs, but that does not last long. We are soon all seated on the floor, leaning against the cushions as is the custom here. The meal is served in a hall where there are two rows of pillars. Long and strong supporting beams cannot be obtained here, where wood is scarce and short; thus all large rooms have pillars to support the roof construction. A long table-cloth is laid over the carpets in the middle
[177] of the room. Seated around it with their legs crossed under
[244] them the great company, with few words and in a rapid tempo, feasts upon the excellently prepared Javanese "rice meal" (*rijsttafel*) laid before them.

353 The mural decorations of the otherwise empty room consist of mirrors, old English prints, photographs of Java and Singapore and two large hanging clocks with musical chimes.

Tea is served in a small drawing-room with modern furniture. In Ḥaḍramaut, the new is less practical and less beautiful than the old and indigenous. It is so hot in here, with its coloured glass windows, that all are thankful when the meeting is adjourned.

508 In the afternoon the Sultan takes us by car to a broad plain
489 where the mountain-wall recedes. He would like to make an aerodrome here and wants therefore to have our opinion. The aeroplane would be an ideal means of transport for the whole of Arabia, and especially for Ḥaḍramaut. Not only are distances great, the communications difficult and whole stretches

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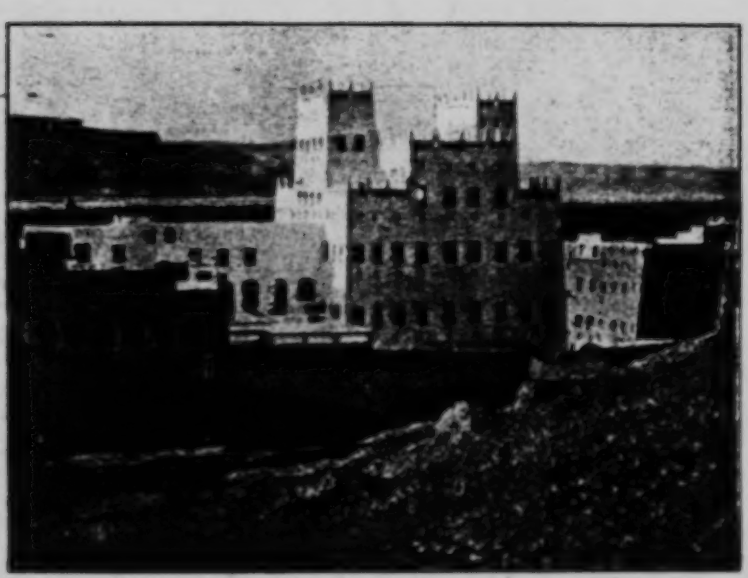
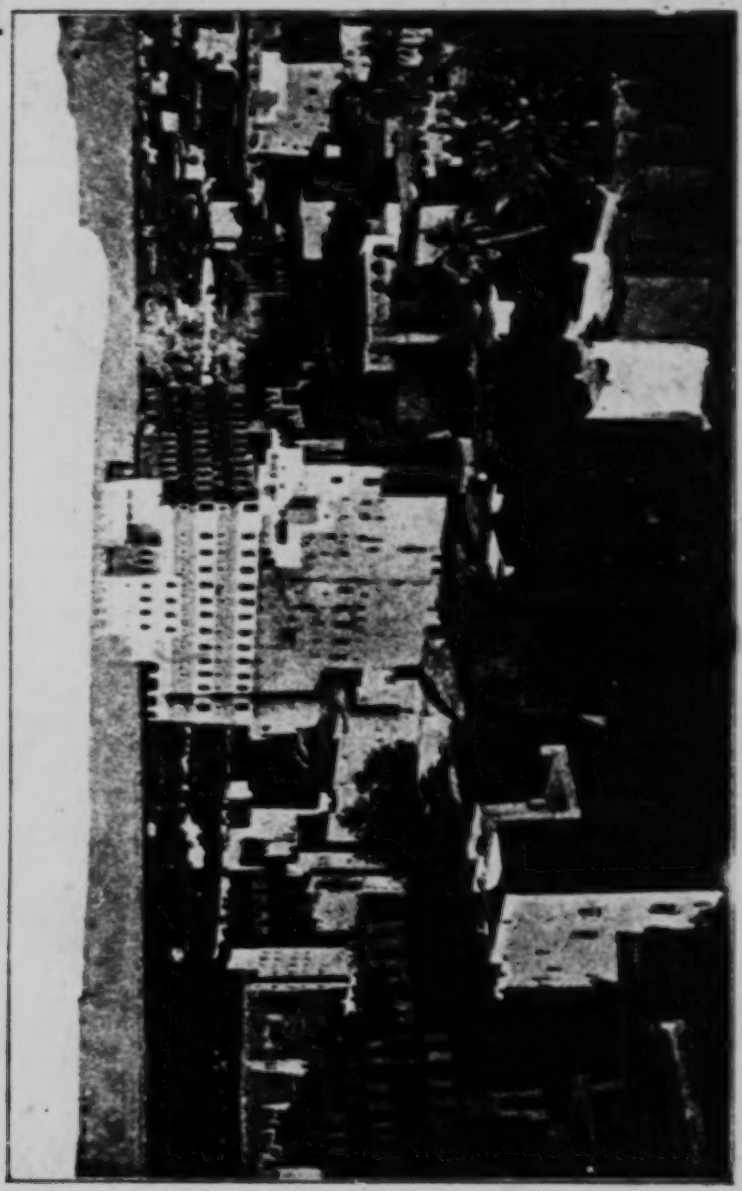


The white palace of the Sultan of Terim in the centre of Seiwun.

p 124 (A)

See page 124.

● 342



The Sultan's palace in Sewûn.

p124(B)

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493 the mountain road made by Sayyid el-Kāf. Some years ago,
491 when the motor-car was first introduced into Ḥaḍramaut, Terîm was at war with villages in the wādī, and this stretch across the plains was then, consequently, impassable. But Sayyid el-Kāf would not yield to any war whatever and, at great expense and effort, he made a road over the two rocky spurs which separate Terîm from Sêwûn.

491 The Sultan of Sêwûn was so proud of this piece of Ḥaḍramī engineering that he insisted on our following this route. It is very difficult for the drivers to cross the wādī at this point, to avoid hillocks and pitfalls, and to come out finally onto the beginning of the zigzag mountain road at the base of the rock. The road, narrow and very steep, goes up and up against the slopes of rock débris, and only short cars can manoeuvre the sharp corners. Half way up, the engines have to cool off and the drivers take a breathing-space, while we too need to recover from the tension! Descent on the other side of the steep ridge seems to be even more difficult than the ascent. Our drivers have to depend only on the brakes and do not seem able to lessen speed by letting the motor run on the lowest gear without giving gas. They do not trust our suggestions, and the brakes get hot so quickly that they have to be cooled with the water that we have brought with us in skins. The second spur of rock too is conquered without mishap; however, I preferred to make the descent on foot. It was indeed in this case quicker than in a car the brake-bands of which catch fire.

1. "TERÎM — AND THEN THOU DESIREST NOTHING ELSE".

361 We get the first view of Terîm from the second rocky ridge.
• 342 It lies in an absolutely barren stony plain. The cultivated tract of land is narrower than at Sêwûn and does not look so luxuriant and fertile, but the great number of large, square palaces is at once noticeable. They are not grey and white here as in Sêwûn, but of all manner of striking colours. One of

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them is entirely blue and is, consequently, the most conspicuous; in others yellow or pink is predominant. A very high minaret, not round but square, and also plastered in a shade of blue, rises high above palm-groves and houses. Terîn, as a city, is a thing by itself. It is a town of many rich men: one can see that even from a distance.

The mountain path debouches into a plain covered with small boulders. A good road, apparently much used, runs right across the plain direct to the gate of Terîm. An evidently new mud wall, with gatehouses and defence turrets in good condition, encloses the town with its gardens and cemetery and runs high up the mountain-wall on either side. War is a familiar phenomenon round about Terîm, and the city is worth strong protection. Sayyid Abû Bakr el-Kâf has organised the building and maintenance of the defence works of the town, and has borne the lion's share of the expense.

As soon as we have passed the gate, the road passes through a well-kept burial ground, where there are three *qubbas* in honour of holy men buried there [1], and also a small mosque. Then, through narrow, winding streets, we come to the house of the widely famed Sayyid Abû Bakr el-Kâf. The house is large but has not yet been completed. We pass through a mud gateway into the garden, where masons are working with their building material of mud, where poor men are waiting for alms, where visitors come and go. We are conducted to the new wing, where, in the reception-room furnished in western style, we make acquaintance with our host and his habitual male entourage.

2. GOOD DAYS WITH SAYYID ABÛ BAKR EL-KÂF HIS FAMILY AND FRIENDS.

Sayyid Abû Bakr el-Kâf is of middle age; he is more simply dressed than his guests and relatives. He does not like coming

[1] Cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Sa'd ibn-Sawbal, ein seiyanner Vall in Hadhramût*, *op. cit.*, v., p. 403 sqq.

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entrusted by his uncle Sayyid Abū Bakr with the carrying out of these aviation plans.

On the morning after our arrival we were, first of all, shown the so-called "wild cow" [1], a present to Sayyid Abū Bakr from some Bedouins who had caught it young on the border of the Rub° el-Khālī (the "Empty Quarter"). The wild cow appears to be a white antelope with black marks and two very long, straight horns. The beautiful, big creature has already lived in captivity for twelve years and looks well on it, except that its hoofs, owing to lack of abrasion, have grown too long.

On the ground floor of Sayyid Abū Bakr's house, where he has his stables, we found some stones with inscriptions on them, brought by Bedouins from the ruins of Sūne. This drew our attention towards that district of ruins, and our host promised that he would organize an excursion for us there.

3. THE PALACES OF TERÎM.

Later we pay a visit to Sayyid ʿUmar bin Shēkh el-Kāf, the younger brother of our host, already mentioned, whose house, just restored, is said to be the most beautiful in all Terîm, and that is saying a great deal in this city of palaces. His house is chiefly conspicuous for its dimensions and colour. The outside is painted deep blue, and the stately rows of tall windows are bordered with a design in yellow. There is, also, no sparing use of pink and green. The style is more Indian than Ḥaḍramī.

All the great houses of Terîm have a character quite of their own that one does not see in the other towns of Ḥaḍramaut. They are massive, square buildings, with regular rows of tall windows, with few extensions on the roofs and few decorative designs on the top of the walls or on the parapets. The lower floor, which is very lofty, has generally two wide, high entrances, closed by doors of teak, and with broad

[1] *Baqarat el-waḥsh* (بقرة الوحش).

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

342 mud steps leading up to them. Signs of intimate contact with foreign countries, Singapore as well as Java, may be noticed 439 both in the exteriors and interiors of these palaces. For instance, it appears to be the existing fashion to have the doors sent ready-made from Java and Singapore. Transport of these very heavy doors and window-frames is certainly expensive and difficult, for the strongest and largest camels have to be selected for it, but the supply of wood in Ḥaḍramaut is small and poor in quality and could not have provided for the many great new buildings of Terīm in so short a time. [435] This extra expense is permissible because the rest of the 465 building costs in Ḥaḍramaut is small. Manual labour is very 331 cheap in this desperately poor and overpopulated country. 342 Even first-rate professional men, architects included, do not earn more than a very moderate daily wage. The chief building material is mud, which can be dug up everywhere close by the house that is to be built. As everything is covered with a plaster of mud, the most crooked branches of *nibq* and desert shrubs can be used for roof construction and similar details. The trunks of date-palms are chiefly in use for ceilings and supporting pillars. We only saw wooden pillars with wooden capitals and cross-beams in the very old, dilapidated castles; the carved, dark-brown wood found in these, with their ceilings of split and interwoven branches, painted in rust-red, white, and black, are certainly very beautiful; yet, owing to the scarcity of wood, one must make shift with the trunks of date-palms. Ceilings, pillars and cross-beams are nowadays covered with a plaster of mud, and this, again, is painted over in fresh, soft colours. The new buildings, consequently, make a gayer and lighter impression, both without and within, and they are more cleanly, but something of the old beauty has vanished. Present-day builders have become real masters in modelling mud and in whitewash work. Pillars made of palm-trunks are transformed by them, as if by magic, into vigorous-looking, round columns with fine capitals.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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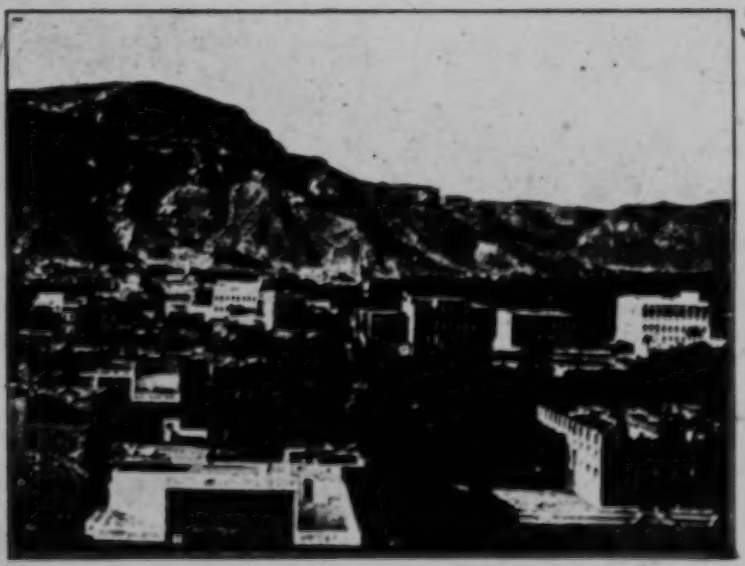
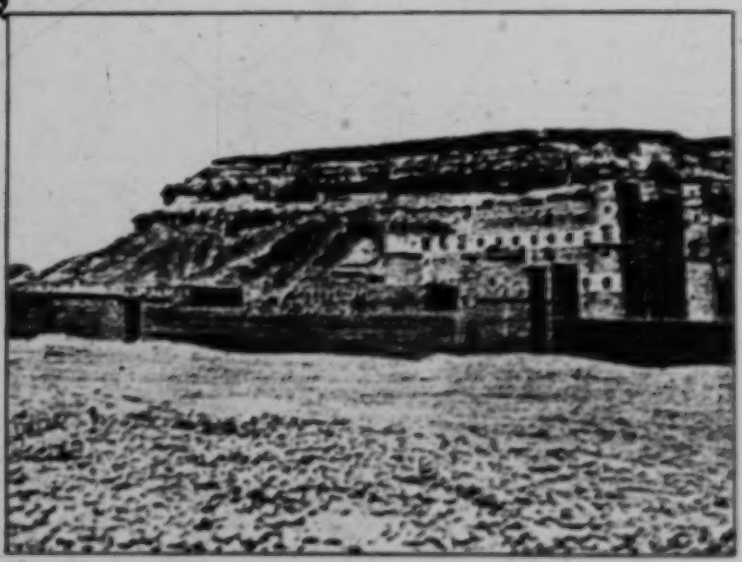


The palaces of Terim.

facing p. 136

●342



The old castle of Qasam.

facing p 145

See page 150

24 Meulen and Wismann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

when the gate is pushed open and a group of soldiers rush out with their guns at the attack. Our people are petrified with fright and call out that we belong to the *Dōla* (the Government). Then the guns drop and the sound of a greeting reaches us, but our chauffeurs drive on as fast as possible, so as to escape from this hostile place.

We now enter the district belonging to the third party, with el-ʿUqda as its headquarters, where the rich Shēkh Sālim bin Djaʿfar bin Ṭālib lives. We are to pay a call upon him. He gave us a pressing invitation to do so on the outward journey, but, at that time, the Sultan of Shibām, who had undertaken our transport arrangements, gave orders to avoid the war zone. Shēkh Sālim is a Dutch subject; he possesses a great fortune, amassed in Surabaya, and was one of the well-known Ḥaḍramīs of that city.

The country round el-ʿUqda is a paradise of beauty. White and light-grey palaces, with rows of big windows and fine points and pinnacles along the edges of the roofs, are scattered among the plantations of young palm-trees. Behind this gay green and white colouring is the yellowish-brown of the rock. In the gardens are also many bushes of lemon and pomegranate and papayas. The buildings in which Shēkh Sālim lives are surrounded by a high wall, with a colossal wooden gate covered with sheet iron, which gives entrance to a courtyard. The outposts here have done their duty and given notice of our arrival, and the gate has been thrown wide open and Shēkh Sālim himself, surrounded by soldiers and children, stands there to give us welcome. The pro-Dutch sentiments of the grey-headed Shēkh are well known, and we have no need to doubt for one moment that our welcome here comes from the heart. Conversation is carried on in the Malay language, in compliment to the presence of a government official of Netherlands India. This creates an intimate atmosphere and offers the advantage that the soldiers and children cannot follow what is said. The great *medjlis* of this imposing building becomes speedily filled with a crowd of inter-

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

342

The beleaguered white castles of el-'Uqde.

facing p 193

24;Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

The way ran by the river all the time now, through an uninterrupted grove of date-palms. At one time the path follows the left bank, then at another the right. At regular intervals we pass long, low dams made of boulders; these store up the water which is conducted through channels for the irrigation of the palm-gardens. The fringe of palm-trees is not, as a rule, wide and above it, against the rocky slopes, where no shade falls, villages swelter in the heat of the sun. They are always in a good strategic position, for this fertile Wādī Ḥadjr has been a much disputed territory until a short time ago. To this must be attributed the low degree of prosperity and the lack of intensive cultivation of all the arable land here. In this respect Wādī Dō'an is on a much higher level.

After a few hours the wādī becomes narrower, the rocky slopes approach the river, and the cultivated strips of land grow narrower and, at last, cease entirely. Our way goes over a plain strewn with sharp, reddish-brown stones, where lies the village of Ḥuṣn Mṣēne', which consists entirely of houses with neither front nor back walls; they are like short tunnels of stone with their further end towards the rock-wall and their front facing the river. When we asked the reasons for this way of building we were told that they were poverty and the great heat; in this way advantage is taken of the breeze which blows through the tunnels. Its inhabitants belong to a kind of gypsy tribe living apart from other people. Further on they dwell in large villages of straw-huts; they are half-nomads and are despised by the settled inhabitants.

The wādī narrows until it becomes a rocky gorge through which the river flows underground. Its narrow bed is full of boulders; probably the *sēl* after rain rushes through here above ground as well. The path rises steeply up the rocky slope, and it is a real feat on the part of the camels to climb up, with their heavy loads, over the slippery boulders and then to descend again into the wādī where it widens out. Halfway through the gorge the river comes to the surface again, showing a beautiful greenish-blue colour.

3429

Ḥuṣn Mṣ̄ne', the gypsy village with the tunnel-shaped houses.

312

Our hot swimming-pool, past 'Aqabat Sfiye.

facing p 232.

8 Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21
Remittances

457 of money from the Far East—the basis of Hadramaut's economy—began to arrive to a certain extent, at least from Singapore. From Java and the Dutch possessions there, is, however, little hope as yet of any but very limited sums being released.

HOUSING

●342 The fixed population are housed for the main part in mud-brick and stone dwellings, while the nomads live under camel-hair tents, straw huts, thatched-palm huts, and even under matting placed over vegetation or trees. The poorer sections live in mud-brick houses, one-storeyed stone huts and straw huts.

Chapter 9: Law and Order

JUSTICE

692 The Law Courts are of two kinds: (*a*) Shari'a Courts (which administers the Shari'a or Quranic Law), and (*b*) Common Law Courts, which handle all cases outside the jurisdiction of the Shari'a Courts.

798 In the Eastern Aden Protectorate there has been a revival of religious intolerance. A most unfortunate development in Mukalla during the year was the formation of a religious committee whose activities have been something between those of a vigilance committee and the inquisition. It selects those whom it considers have committed offences against Islam, condemns them and sentences them. The local Government carries out its sentences and there is no appeal. This being a matter of religion, the [643] Resident Adviser has under the treaty no power to interfere. Hadramaut has never been the home of religious tolerance, but it was hoped that the fires of fanaticism were dying.

GOVERNMENT GUARDS

Strength

704 The force of Government Guards operates in the Western Aden Protectorate. The most outstanding event for the Government Guards 712 in 1947 was the transfer of the Headquarters from the Hindu garden in Sheikh Othman to the Champion Lines, Khormaksar, in the early part of the year.

The task of adapting the camp to meet the needs of this force was not completed for several months, but in its present form provides ample living and store accommodation for the approved establishment which has now been brought up to full strength.

Tribal Guards

The arrival of the Depot Officer in May has permitted the calling in of Tribal Guard units for training in drill and musketry, and up to

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

culture and winning a reputation for the Hadhramaut as a centre of religious education.

No parallel cultural or social development occurred in the recent past in the other areas of the Eastern Protectorate or in the Western Protectorate. Any development of education initiated by Government had therefore to contend with two different problems. On the one hand, there was in the Hadhramaut an appreciable number of cultured people who might become teachers after a short time of training, but in whom this advantage was offset by a tendency towards religious fanaticism and obscurantism. On the other hand, in the rest of the Protectorate the people were mainly illiterate and there was thus no immediate supply of potential teachers. This deficiency of trained teachers remains the biggest problem in Protectorate education to-day.

HEALTH

Western Aden Protectorate

The development of the Protectorate Medical Service was rather upset in the past three years by numerous changes of senior medical staff. However, one advantage came from this, namely that in the drawing up of a plan for future development, co-operative help and advice was given by every doctor and nurse who ever worked in the Protectorate.

At the beginning of the year, a three-month course was given for new tribal dressers, who were posted to work under senior dressers in the Protectorate.

It is estimated that in the course of the year 50,000 patients were treated in the 18 dispensaries. Malaria, dysentery, schistosomiasis and tuberculosis were the four most prevalent diseases. Obstetrical problems and gynaecology offer a very large field for research. Owing to customs necessitating the seclusion of women any estimate of these problems is pure conjecture. In spite of these restrictions, the Medical Officer attended a great many during his visits, especially in Beihan at the very edge of "the empty quarter" of Arabia. A number of those who otherwise would never receive surgical treatment were flown down to the hospital at Aden. Venereal disease was unfortunately on the increase in Abyan, where crowds of people of all kinds came to find work in the agricultural project there.

Many visits including some of several days duration were paid by the Medical Officer to the various dispensaries in the Protectorate during which between 4,000 and 5,000 selected patients were treated. Besides those patients who found their own way down to hospital in Aden, 150 or more were brought down on the Protectorate Medical Officer's recommendation.

HOUSING

The settled Western Aden Protectorate population is housed for the main part in mud-brick and stone dwellings, while the nomads live under camel-hair tents, straw huts, thatched-palm huts, and even under matting placed over vegetation or trees.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

A case of smallpox in Audhali area was immediately and effectively dealt with by Dr. Affara, also from the Keith Falconer Scottish Mission Hospital, and 4,500 people were vaccinated. 744 751

Eastern Aden Protectorate

In the Eastern Protectorate, advances in medical and public health services were retarded in early 1949 by lack of staff. It was not until late in 1950 that the staff situation was relieved by the arrival of a medical officer from India for the Kathiri State and of a German lady doctor from Germany for Shibam. 744

With the obvious exception of cases of scurvy and malnutrition during the famine of 1949, there was a very mild outbreak of small-pox in Mukalla in February and March, 1949, and sporadic outbreaks of malaria in particular in the coastal areas, and the health of the population has been reasonably good in the past two years. [164]

Stringent and vigorous anti-malarial measures were started in January, 1950. All pools, including the source of water supply in the vicinity of Mukalla and Shihr were oiled or stocked with larvae-consuming fish, and water collecting tanks were closed and cleaned out weekly.

An additional sanitary inspector in Mukalla was appointed during 1950.

In October, 1950, Dr. R. B. Smith, Acting Protectorate Medical Officer, was invited to visit Eastern Aden Protectorate and his recommendations on the best methods of improving and safe-guarding public health are being implemented.

In November, 1950, four soldiers of the Mukalla Regular Army and two of the Kathiri Armed Constabulary proceeded to the Keith Falconer Mission Hospital, Sheikh Othman, on an anti-malarial course for three months. 744 759

HOUSING

No greater contrast could be imagined than exists in the houses of the Aden Protectorate. 342

The most elementary are the goat-hair tents of the nomadic people, and the even more primitive shelters of some shepherds, consisting only of a mat hung on poles, or spread over a branch of a bush.

The simplest form of house for the settled population, or those who stay for some period in a place to work at harvest time, is a kind of inverted nest of brush-wood, with a little matting incorporated in places. This provides privacy and shelter from the sun, though not of course from rain if it falls, or from the all-pervading dust storms.

The most common type of permanent house is built of mud-brick in the plains and rough stones bound with mud in the hill districts, and more rarely of squared stones. Rooms are generally small (long timber being very scarce) and dark, affording a relief from the glare outside; ventilation is usually adequate and the thick walls provide

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2

342 insulation against the heat. Roofs are universally flat, and used for the recreation of the women, who keep purdah, and for sleeping in the summer.

342 The farm-house of the tribesmen is little removed from its earlier function of a fort, and even in large towns it is unusual for the ground
531 floor (often used as a stable) to have more than loop-holes, windows being reserved for the upper storeys. But the upper part of a house is frequently decorated with whitewash, and in some cases most intricate and delicate patterns are created in plaster-work and whitewash, occasionally touched with blue or other colours. Sanitation is primitive.

342 The cities of the Hadhramaut have tall mud-brick buildings, nearly every house in Shibam is from five to seven storeys high, and the wealthy Seiyids and Sultans live in veritable palaces which are remarkable not only for their size and cost but for their taste and beauty.

Chapter 9: Law and Order

JUSTICE

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625 In the Eastern Aden Protectorate security is primarily a responsibility of the states themselves, but it is still necessary to provide additional security forces.

PRISONS

697 There is no recognised prison service in the Western Aden Protectorate. Chiefs of states have their own state prisons, which are supervised by the political staff in controlled areas.

625 ## WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE SECURITY FORCES

Government Guards

The establishment was as follows :

British Officers	*Arab Officers*	*Other Ranks*	*Specialists, etc.*
5	18	582	82

Posts were maintained in the Dhala district at Dhala, Safra, Jabel, Jihaf, Lazaric and Awabil ; in Abyan district at Ja'ar (Khanfar), El Husn, Ba Teis and Hitat ; in Ahwar district at Ahwar and El Oqma ; in Beihan at Beihan, El Ain, Asailan, Najd Maizar and Najd Merqad; in Dathina district at Am Surra, Mudia, Am Khudeira and Am Quleita; at Thumeir in the Quteibi area and at Mahfad and El Irq in the Manqas district.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MMI Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

Staff Institutions and Development

Health Service staff, expenditure on health, and the number of hospitals and health units are shown in the appendix to this chapter.

Preventive measures are being more widely used. Prominence in malaria control is given to residual spraying of habitations with water dispersible BHC and, in prevention of bowel infections, to waste matter disposal and rebuilding of privies. Propaganda is also being increasingly used.

Research has been limited to finding out certain local food values and the distribution of certain vectors of disease. *Bulinus* and *Planorbis* foci are being searched for and plotted. Important mosquito species are *A. gambiae* on the littoral and *A. sergenti* in the highlands. *Aedes aegypti* is found widely distributed.

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A 342 of size and construction, the houses usually have flat roofs, which can be utilised during the summer months for sleeping purposes. The increase in population within recent years has led to the growth of settlements of *barasti* huts, made of reeds, palm leaves or corrugated iron, in the outlying districts. A 361 Some of the laborers employed in handling 362 cargo or coal are quartered in barracks, but 511 many live in crude hut settlements in which the sanitary conditions are a menace to both townships. Slum clearance was started in 1943, and housing programs have since been undertaken in Crater and Sheikh Othman. They are financed by the Colonial government and subsidized by grants from the British Colonial Development and Welfare funds.

H 342 361 Stone, mud brick and brushwood are utilized for building purposes in the Protectorate. The type of housing and the character of the villages in different areas are governed by the materials available and the need for making them defensible. Walled settlements predominate, but scattered dwellings surrounded by brushwood stockades are frequent in Western Aden Protectorate. In the towns the larger houses of stone or mud brick have from 3 to 6 H 342 stories, with accommodations for the live-511 stock on the ground floor. In contrast with 361 the elaborate dwellings of the wealthy, the homes of the tribesmen are small and rarely of more than one story. They are typically overcrowded, dark and insanitary, while the animals are often kept in close association with the family. The Bedouin in the interior use the traditional camel-hair tents, but the nomadic tribes and fisherfolk near the coast live in huts of straw, thatched palm or matting.

ENVIRONMENT AND SANITATION

Water Supplies

A 512 Water is usually scarce, except in parts of the western highlands which benefit from a heavier rainfall. The main water supply for Aden Colony is derived from 10 deep

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2

though owning a large proportion of the land, they employ slaves or hired labourers to cultivate it. As compared with the other classes, they are well educated, are strict in their religious observances, and, owing to the respect due to their descent, they exercise a strong influence both in temporal and spiritual matters.

The *Tribesmen*, as in Arabia generally, are the most interesting part of the Hadhramaut population and are the predominant class. All the adults carry arms. Some of the tribes have settled towns; others lead a nomadic life, keeping, however, within their own recognized territory. They are divided into families, each headed by a chief or Abu, while the head of the tribe is known as the Muqaddam, or tribal lord. Though the tribesmen are not his subjects, he is their leader in war or peace; he can rule only with their support, and his authority depends largely on his personality. For the distribution, numbers, and influence of the principal tribes, see the section 'Government', (p. 229 f.).

The *Townsmen* are the free inhabitants of the towns and villages as distinguished from the Seyyids and the tribesmen; they do not carry arms, but are the working members of the community, merchants, citizens, cultivators, and servants, and are entirely dependent on the tribes and chiefs under whose protection they live. It is to be noted that taxes fall almost exclusively on them.

The *Servile class* contains a large African element, brought over formerly when the slave trade flourished on this coast. They follow the profession of their masters, i. e. the slaves of a member of a tribe carry arms or cultivate the fields; those of a townsman follow the occupation of the master. As in all Mohammedan countries, they are generally well treated and often rise to positions of trust.

A large number of Arabs from Hadhramaut go abroad, the Kathīri especially being enterprising travellers; many of the Ka'aiti take service in the irregular troops of Haidarabad, and emigration to the Dutch colonies in Java and Sumatra has also gone on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, a large number of Parsee and British-Indian traders have established themselves in the Hadhramaut ports, which carry on a considerable coasting trade with the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

Domestic Life and Appliances

The houses in the Hadhramaut are often well ventilated and comparatively clean. A feature that first strikes the traveller is the form and character of the larger houses of well-to-do townsmen. Often several storeys in height, they are mainly built of

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21

sun-dried brick on a foundation of one or two stories of hewn stone, clay being used instead of mortar. The upper storeys are usually whitewashed on the exterior, and this practice gives the towns a striking and bright appearance when seen from a distance. The house is usually approached through a courtyard surrounded by a wall six feet or so in height. The entrance door is often very solid and ornamented with carvings in arabesque, or with iron nails or polished brass, and it usually carries a knocker. The door leads into a passage, with cellars and storerooms to right and left, and conducts to a courtyard at the back around which are the kitchen and other domestic offices; in the case of the larger houses, a private well is found here.

The building narrows and the walls become thinner at each succeeding storey; there is usually a balcony to each floor, on the right and left, surrounded by a low wall of masonry, but rarely covered in as is usual in most Mohammedan countries. The living and sleeping rooms of the upper storeys all have many windows, unglazed, but invariably shuttered. Fireplaces are unknown; when the weather is cold, the rooms are heated by a brazier of burning wood around which the occupants sit; wood which gives off as little smoke as possible is burnt, and what smoke there is escapes by the windows. All doors are closed from the inside by rough locks of wood or, very exceptionally, of iron. The main doorway is closed by a huge wooden latch which can be raised by a cord leading to the story above, thus obviating the necessity of going downstairs to open it. The houses of the lower classes differ but little from those of most parts of Arabia. The Bedouins shelter themselves in caves or huts of clay; tents are never used by them as in most other parts of Arabia owing to the violent storms and general uncertainty of the weather prevalent at some seasons.

The so-called castles of the Hadhramaut are constructed in much the same fashion as the houses, only on a larger scale, some of them being of vast size and not infrequently covering an acre or more of ground. They have at the angles fortified towers (often furnished with antiquated mortars), either square or round, similar to those of mediaeval castles in Europe, and above the uppermost floor smaller square loopholed watch-towers or look-outs. There are often smaller isolated towers (*kūt*), little constructions of one or two floors, occupied by the guard. A raised terrace generally extends the whole length of the front of the building.

All the houses, even those of the rich, are furnished most sparely and simply. It is usual to sit on the floor, which is covered with